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THE LYFE OF THE MOST GODLY, VALEANT AND NOBLE CAPteine and maintener of the trew Christian Religion in Fraunce,

IASPER COLIGNIE SHATIlion, sometyme greate Admirall of Fraunce.

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THE LIFE OF Jasper Colignie Shatilion,

sometime great Admirall of FRAVNCE.

IN THE borders of *Bresse* not farre from *Burgundie*, there is a Towne of greate antiquitie called *Colonie*, with a castle adioyning thereto, sometime of verie greate strengthe, in respect whereof, in the time of our forefathers, it was called in the vulgar tongue, the fortresse, that is to say the bulwarke or defence of all the countrey about it. The Lordes of that towne and castle, were after the accustomed maner of their auncetors, called the Lords of *Colonie*, but afterward the name was corrupted among the Frenchmen, & they were called the Lordes of *Colignie*. It is an old opinion among the inhabiters there, and it disagreeth not wt Cæsars writings, that it is the same place wherein Cæsar at his arriuall with his armie in *Fraunce*, heard the Ambassadors of the Burgonions & Niuernoys complayning of the Svvitzers for comming into *Fraunce* with an armie, and for wastinge their countrey. For the next hill retayneth the name of Iulius, and is called *Iules*

mount vnto this day, and the towne hard by it is named *Ceſaree*. This is certeine, that the Lordes of *Colignie* had verie greate lands and poſſeſſions in old time in that countrie, & that the Townes of *Nañtua* and *Mouluet* and all the territories of thoſe Cities were vnder their iuriſdiction. Whereof manie other things are a record, & ſpecially the ſtandard of meaſures, which beare the name of *Colignie* meaſures, euen vnto this day, in the Townes, villages and manors thereabouts, and are receaued from that *Colignie* by the inhabitants of thoſe partes. The armes or cogniſance of the howſe of *Colignie*, which they giue after the auncient maner of noble and worſhipfull families, is a crowned Eagle: and it is certeine that that howſe had the right of ſouereintie, (which after the cuſtome of antiquitie is called Royalties) ſo as they had power of life and death ouer the folke of their ſeniorie, with authority to pardon ſuch as were condemned to die, and to coyne money ſtamped with the marke of the crowned Eagle, and to rayze taxes and ſubſidies vpon their tenaunts and fermors when neede required. Therfore according to their ſo great abilitie, they fownded a greate nomber of Religious howſes whome they indewed with verie greate reuenewes: among which was the Abbey of *Marent*, ſituate in the Earldome of *Auuſſone*: the Abbeys of *Momerline* and *Shelliom* in the Countrie of *Breſſe*: and *Colignie* in *Burgundie*, all which they indewed with like priuiledges and fraunchizes, as the houſe of *Colignie* it ſelf had: & ſo did they alſo to diuers townes,

as

as *Treffort*, *Iasseron*, *S. German*, *Damberie*, *Amburney*, & *Pounsignie* whose inhabiters hold still the right giuen to them by the Lordes of *Colignie*, euen vnto this day.

In the Abbey of *Marent* are certeine auncient Registers that make mencion of Hubberd of *Colignie*, who in the yeere of our Lord a thousand a hundred and sixandfortie, accompanying the Emperour Conrade the thirde then going with a greate armie into the East to recouer *Ierusalem*, came home again for certaine causes, and preparing himselfe soone after to returne thither, caried with him fiue Sonnes, Gvvirik, VVilliam, Hubberd, Gvvy, Dalmace, and Bernard. By the same Registers and by the wrytings and Registers of other Abbeyes, it appeareth that Gvvirik had a Sonne called Hubberd which was Lord of *Colignie* and *Andelot*, who had issue Amedey, the father of Steuen, who had issue Iohn, and he another Steuen,, and he another Iohn, of whome came Iames, and of him VVilliam which obteyned the Baronie comonly called *Mount S. Iohnes* in *Burgundie*, and was Lord of the towne and castle of *Shatilion* in *Fraunce*, which towne standeth vppon the riuer of *Loyng*.

Of this VVilliam descended Iohn, and of Iohn, Iasper the father of this our Iasper. For this pedegre of that noble and renowmed howse conteyninge welneare fiue hundred yeeres, is kept safe in Registers, and in the wrytings of the same familie. Iasper the father of this our Iasper florished vnder Kinge

Frauncis the first, and had to wife Loys Memorancie, the sister of Annas Memorancie high Constable of *Fraunce*: and because he had a howse in the Castle that standeth by the Towne of *Shatilion* he was called the Lord *Shatilion*, by meanes whereof the same syname is conueyed to his children and posteritie. Of this mans prowesse, Martine Bellay a valiant gentlemã which wrate the french stories of his time, giueth a notable testimonie. For in the second booke of his cõmentaries, he writeth in maner to this effect.

In the yeere of our Lorde 1522, the Admirall Bonniuet had taken *Fontarabbie* in the Marches of *Spayne*. But assoone as he was returned into *Fraũce*, & had brought home his power with him: the *Spanyardes* fell too beseeging of the Towne with a great armie. By which seege when the Townsmen were brought too extreme penurie of all things, for it had continewed about twelue moonethes, and it is certein that a great nomber perished through famin for want of foode, so that the matter stoode in greate extremitie: the King hauing intelligence therof, commaunded the Marshall Shatilion too leuye an armie in all haste, and too go too the reskew of them that were beseeged. The Shatilion hauing mustered his armye, sped him thitherward in all haste. Howbeeit when he came neere *Bayon*, he was taken with a sore sikneße, wherof he dyed, too the greate losse of the Realme of *Fraunce*. For he was a mã of great experience in Martiall affaires, and caryed greate countenance of authoritie with him. Thus much sayeth

sayeth Bellay. This Iasper died in a towne commonly called *Ax* the sixth of August in the yeere 1522. leauing behynd him three sonnes, Odet, Iasper and Frauncis.

As touching Loyse his wyfe, this is woorthie of remembrance, that hauing led a holie lyfe, insomuch as shee was counted an example of womanhod, and was Ladie of Honour (as they terme it) too Queene Helenor wyfe of King Frauncis the first: at her death shee gaue this record of the trew and pure religion which shee had imbraced. For whereas shee had this saying of Dauids Psalme alwayes in her mouth, *And his mercie indureth from generation too generation towards them that feare him:* shee warned hir eldest sonne Odet Shatilion, which was then alredye made a Cardinall, and vtterly forbade him too suffer anie sacrifycer or massepreest too come in her presence, telling him that it was reueled vntoo hir by Gods singular benefyte, bothe how shee should woorship him after a godly maner, and also how shee should depart out of the prison of this bodie, vntoo the heauenly countrie. Shee deceassed at *Paris* the yeere of our Lord. 1547. in the house which is now called Memorancie house. Odet the eldest of hir sonnes, was in the. xvj. yeere of his age created Cardinall, (as is sayd afore) by Pope Clement the seuenth, (who thought the nobleneſſe of that howse fit for the stablishment of his owne estate in *Fraunce*) and rewarded with very great and riche benefices by the King. By meanes wherof, the se-

cond ſonne, whoſe name was Iaſper (as I ſaid afore) obteined the prerogatiue that was dew too the eldeſt ſonne. This Iaſper was borne the yeere of our Lord 1517. the xvj. day of Februarie, whom for the woonderfull towardneſſe of vertew and witte which he ſhewed being yet a chyld, his moother after the deceaſe of his father, cawſed too bee brought vp in lerning from his tender yeeres, putting him too ſchoole to Maſter Nicolas Berald, who bare the cheef fame for lerning in thoſe dayes through all *Fraunce*, cawſing him moreouer too bee trayned vp in feates of armes, by the ſkilfulleſt teachers and mayſters of Chiualrie that ſhee could get.

Iaſper being trayned vp in ſuch inſtructions, when he came to the .xxiiii. yeere of his age, ſhewed woonderfull forewardneſſe in the ſeege of *Bains*, beſeeged by King Fraunciſſis eldeſt ſonne, comonly called the Dolphin. Bellay in the tenth booke of his Hiſtorie, reporteth that about the yeere of our Lord 1543, he was ſtriken in the throte by his enemies with a pellet of lead, as he aduentured too neere the diche. The ſame yeere when woord was browght too the King, that the ſtate of his affaires in *Piemõt* was ſuch, as it was lyke that they ſhould come too a pitched feeld with their enemies, he craued leaue of him, and ryding thither in poſte, gaue greate proofe of his proweſſe in that battell (which is comonly called the battell of *Ceriſoles*) as the ſame Bellay recorded in the ſayd tenth booke of his commentaries. By reaſon wherof, within feawe yeeres after, Hen-

rye

rye the ſonne of King Frauncis, did put him in cheef authoritie. For whē Annas Memorancie the Uncle of Iaſper, was General of the men of armes, he gaue this man the charge of the Frenche footemen: which office is in the comon language called the *Colonell* of the footemen. He behaued himſelf in ſuch wyze in that roome, as he purchaced himſelf great commendacion for his Juſtice, Ualeantneſſe, and wiſdome within feawe moonethes after, and got the good willes of all the people of *Fraunce*. For wheras erſt it was growen into a moſte wicked cuſtome, that the ſouldyers myght ronne gadding euery where vnder their antſignes, and make hauocke and ſpoyle of all things: Iaſper tyed them too ſtreyter ozders of warlyke diſciplyne, therby too reſtreyne their euerlicentiowſe dealings, and ſpecially too repreſſe the libertie of their curſed ſwearing and blaſphemie: wherthrough the ſeede of trew godlineſſe and religion appeered alreedie in his hart. And forazſmuch as thoſe lawes or ozders were verye wel lyked of all good men: ſhortly after, they were proclaymed by the Kings commaundement and in his name, and inrolled in the booke of the Kings lawes. About the ſame time the ſame King aduaunced him too the honour which is now vtterly imbaced, but at that tyme was counted a roome of greate eſtimation, namely too bee one of the Knyghtes of the ozder.

At the ſame ſeaſon there fell a grudge betweene Henrye King of *Fraunce*, and Henrye King of *England* for the Towne of *Bullen*. Therfore when the

King of *Fraunce* distrusted the *Inglishmen*, he betoke the ouering of that Countrie, and almoste of the whole matter to the Shatilion. Uppon the receyt of which commission, he went immediatly intoo *Picardie*, whither King Henrye had sent his hoste too beseege the Towne, and by singular pollicie bwilded a foyte neere the Towne, which myght bee bothe a defence too the *Frenchmen*, and a greate let too keepe the townesmen from issewing owt. That foyte is yet still called the Shatilion, of the bwilders name: and it was a greate furtherance too the winning of the Towne. Therfoyre it was not long after, ere the *Inglishmen* began too treate of composition: the commission of the making wherof was committed wholly to the Shatilion, and too his vncle Mounsyre de Rochepote. When he had dispatched these matters, he returned too the Court, and within feawe yeeres after was made Loyd Admirall of *Fraunce*, which is counted the cheefest dignitie within the Realme, bycause he hathe the cheef rule of the Sea that beateth vppon *Fraunce*, and the charge of the Kings Nauie and of all his seamen and seamatters. Also the King made him his Lieuetennant of two shyres, that is too wit of *Picardie* and of the Ile of *Fraunce*, inhonoring him furthermoye with the Capteinship of the men of armes, and making him one of the Loydes of his pryuie counsell.

The next yeere following which was the. 1554. the Emperoy of *Germanie* Charles the fifth, & Marie Queene of England ioyning their foyces togither, made

made sore and sharp warre vppon Henrye King of *Fraunce*. The Shatilion was chozen by the consent of all good men, as the onely man that was able to resiste so greate enemyes by his prowesse and pollicie. Therefore the ordering of that moste sharp and terrible warre, which concerned *Picardie* moste of all, was committed by the Kinge to the Admirall, that he shoulde rayze a power and gouerne the marches of the *Lovvecountrie*. Thzough the liking together of the forces of so mightie enemies, and the opinion that was had of the Emperour Charles, who was renowmed ouer all the world, the whole realme of *Fraunce* was striken in greate feare, bycause the King was vtterly vnprouided both of money and of other things needeful for the mayntenãce of warre, and no man dowted but that *Fraunce* was likely to goe presently to wrecke, consideringe the greate distresse of all thinges. Whereof when the Admirall had both aduertised the King, and communicated it to his freendes, he thought it best to salue the matter with somme truce. The King and his Counsell lyking well of this his deuyse, committed the handling of the matter to him, and he win fewe dayes brought it to passe to the incredible ioye and gladnesse of all the Realme, and to his owne singular prayse for preseruing of his countrey, bicause the condicions of the truce were both honorable and very profitable to the Realme.

About the same time the Guyses of the howse of *Lorrein*, which made their baunt that the kinge-

dome of *Sicilie* and *Naples* belonged to them of right, and that it was wrongefully wrested from them by the Spaniardes, made the King beleue, that nowe of late yeares they had wonne the heartes of the moste part of the nobilitie of *Naples*, partly by liberalitie & partly by fayre promises, and that by their meanes the King should haue easy enterance into ẏ Realme, so that if he would graunt them a part of his power, it would come to passe, that those kingdomes shoulde in short time be brought vnder his Dominion, without any greate truble. Thus through counsell of the Guyses,, the truce that was swoorne a fewe monethes before, was broken to the greate dishonour of the frenche nacion: which falsehod the Admirall tooke greeuously and sore to harte, oftentimes protesting that such periuries had alwayes bred mischief in the end, and that God had in all ages bene a most seuere reuenger of such forswearings. To the furtherance whereof, he was compelled by the Kings commaundement, to fall to practises of warre in his prouince, against the peace & against his owne promise. Hereoutof sprong first priuie hartburning, afterwarde an enterance to the open hatred ẏ was betwixt them. Also this was a furtherance thereof, that wheras the King had graũted a combate betweene two Gentlemen in the borders of *Picardie*, although the Duke of Guyse was then present, yet the Shatilion thought it stoode him on hand so to deale, as he himself might be chiefe vmper in the matter, bycause the chalendge was to be performed in his prouince. Moreouer, a-

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nother cause of the Guyses hatred is reported to be this: that wheras in their youth they had ben linked together with singular familiaritie, insomuch that to testifie their frendship with all, they went appareled in like rayment: the Duke of Guyse asked the Admiralls aduice how he liked of his brother the Duke of *Aumalls* intent, in purposing to marrie the Seneschall of Valentinoes dawghter, who was highly in King Henries fauour, and as highly diffamed among good men. To whome the Admirall answered, that he made more account of an vnch of good name, then of neuer so greate riches: which saying of the Admirals the Duke of Guyse and the Duke of *Aumall* tooke in greate displeazure, as though it had bene spoken to barre the howse of Gvvyse from greater power preferment and preheminence.

Howbeit when the Kinge was aduertized that the Spaniards leuied men of warre in the frontiers of the *Lovve countreis*, and that their forces assembled into one place: he thought it moste for the safetie of *Picardie*, to send the Admirall thither out of hand w̄ an armye, whome we haue shewed alreadye to haue bin the Lieuetēnant of that *Countrie*. He had scarsly marched two dayes iourney, but he was certified by his espialls, that the Spanyards were minded to beseege *S. Quintines* a towne of *Picardie* not vnrenowmed, and to batter it out of hand with greate store of dubble Canons. Therwithall he had worde sent him by Brullio the Captaine of the Castle of *Ham*, that as soone as the townesmen had tydings therof, ther

roſe ſuch a feare throughout all the Citie, that many houſholders left their wiues, children and all other things behind them, and tooke them to flight. When the Admirall hearde that, yet he thought it meete to conceale it among his men of warre, and pretending greate luſtineſſe of corage, marched on in great iourneys towards *S. Quintines*. When Iernacke, and Luſarche whome the Admirall had made Lieuetennāt of the men at armes diſſwaded him from it with many wordes, declaringe vnto him that the towne was nether well fortified nor well vitteled, and moreouer that the townesmen were ſtriken in feare, & a greate power of the enemies would be come thither before any thinge coulde be prouided for the defence of the towne, & therfore it was more for their commoditie & praiſe to maintaine the warres in the open field, than to ſtudye howe to ſaue themſelues cooped vp within walls: the Admirall beinge no whit moued w̄ thoſe words of theirs, continued in his purpozed exployt, declaring to them, of how great importance ẏ towne was, both to the puttinge backe of the Spaniſh force from the deſtruction of his countrey, & to the ſafetie of his prouince: & how greate occaſion of ſpeache he ſhould giue to ſpiteful and malicious perſones, if he ſhoulde alter his purpoze. The next daye worde was brought him, ẏ the moſt part of the ſowldiers which were appoynted to him by the Kinges commaundement for the defence of the towne, and whome he had ſent one night afore him to cheere vp the harts of ẏ townesmen, had hid themſelues in ẏ next woods for

feare

feare, and were slipt euery man home too his owne howse by bywayes. That day therefore there folowed him no mo but a hũdred & twentie, whom six score mo followed the next day. Wherof the enemyes hauing intelligẽce by their skowts, came too the towne in haste, & diuiding their woorks, began too make a trenche abowt it. When they had taken certein little cotages in the suburbes, and drew neere too the dyches with their wynding trenches: the Admirall making a salye owt vppon them, commaunded faggots and fyrebronds too bee thrust intoo those howses, and set them on fyre, wherby he draue the enemie further of. The next day when he had vewed all partes of the towne, and found no bulwarkes, no rampyres, no towers of defence: he begã too distrust the towne, and too bee afrayd of long seege. Neuertheless, forasmuch as the cace stoode so with him, that he was driuen either too defend the towne, and too stoppe the rage of the enemies from the destroying of his countrie, or else too dye manfully in the quarell: looke what was possible for him too deuyze and bring too passe by care, trauel and watching, he did it: not ouerslipping anie thing in making of fortifications, in cutting of trenches, and in rayzing vp rampyres euerywhere. And too the intent too giue example of peynfulnesse and trauell too the townesmen, and too his sowldyers, and too the Gentlemen that came with him: he was the first man that did set hand too the woorks, and neuer departed from them til they were ended. Whyle he was in this perplexi-

tie, soodeinly vnlooked for, newes was brought him that Mounsyre d'Andelot his brother (of whom mẽtion is made afore) was comme intoo the towne, and had browght about. 500. sowldyers with him. Besydes this, the King being aduertized from him, intoo how greate perill the Towne seemed too bee browght, commaunded the Constable too hye him thither with certein Gwidons of horsmen, & too carry in vittells with him, and too fortifye the towne w̄ a greater garrison. But the *Spanyards* cõpalling him with a greater companie of Launceknyghts, & with a great power of footemen, ouercame him in battel, and tooke him prizoner, and hauing made a greate spoyle of his men, drawe the rest backe agein further intoo *Fraunce*. Vppon the report of which newes in the towne, such a feare strake into the harts of al mẽ, ẏ the Admirall could scarce doo any good with his incoragements. Being moued with sorrowe herat, & greeued with so greate perill of his countrie, he called his people toogither, and told them that more regard was too bee had of their countrie then of life: and thervppon he tooke an othe of them all, as well the townesmen as his souldyers, that it should bee death for any of them too make mention of yeelding, and that it should bee lawfull for euery man too kill such a one vnpunished. He himself tooke the othe first of all. The *Spanyards* being puffed vp with so greate a victorie, returned too the seege of the towne, & neuer left beating of it w̄ greate ordinance by the space of. 20. dayes toogither, and moreouer made wyn-

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ding trenches about the walles, wherin too commo
couertly and priuily to the ditches. When the Admi-
ral saw that the most part of the wal was cast downe
with the continuall batterie, and a greate breache o-
pen into the towne, and the enemies readye to giue
the assault: he incouraged his souldiers to abide that
one brunt, saying that if they foyled their enemies at
that time, they would not be ouer hastie to aduenture
againe: and therupon he him selfe stoode to defence
where he sawe the breache wydest, assigninge the o-
ther parts of the towne to his brother and to the rest
of his friends to defend. The enemies beholding so
strong a cõterforce on that side, assaulted the towne
on two other sides. Whereof when tydinges was
brought to the Admiral, he left such as he trusted best
at his standinge, and hyed him to the nexte, where he
found his men driuen away, and the place gotten by
his enemies, and a part of the Citie pestered with ar-
med men. There was with him a noble yong gentle-
man called Auentignie, whome he had brought vp in
his house of a child, and a page, and a child of a noble
howse that bare his iauelin, which were suddeinly
assayled and inclozed about by certaine Spaniards,
who hauing knowledge of the Admirall, tooke him
prizoner, and after the winning of the towne, conuei-
ed him to *Antwerp*: where being attached with sore
sickenesse and vexed fortie dayes with an agewe, at
suche tymes as his fitts lefte him, he commaunded a
Byble to be brought vnto him, to ease the griefe and
sorrowe of his minde with reading of it. And he stu-

died so much vpon it, that he began from thensforthe to haue a taste of ỹ pure religion & trew godlinesse, & to lerne the right maner of calling vppon God.

When he had payed fiftie thousand pound for his raunsome, and was come home agein frome captiuitie, hauing gotten some leyzure, and being weery of the bzoyles of the Court, he set his mynd earnestly thensforth vppon Religion, & by the Kings permission gaue ouer his Colonelship of the footemen to his bzother Mounsyre d' Andelot, & his Lieuetennantship of the Ile of *Fraunce* too his Neuew the Marshal Memorancie, his sisters sonne by the Cunstable. And it was not long after ere he sent a familiar freēd of his too the King, certifying him in moste humble wise, that he was mynded too giue vp his charge in *Picardie*, & beseeching him too looke wel about him too whome he committed it. The King answered ỹ he thought this sewt of his very straunge, and that he delt not wizely in dispossessing of him self of so many roomes and offices at once. From thensforth manie began to suspect the Admirall that he had chaunged his religion, and in deede he shewed a mynd vtterly voyd of all ambition and desyze of authozitie.

Within a while after, King Henry dyed, and his sonne Frauncis succeeded. This Frauncis had taken too his wife Mary Queene of Scotts, the dawghter of the Duke of Gvvyses sister, by reason wherof the howse of Gvvyse grew in greate fauour and authozitie with the King, and oftentymes bzagged to him of the kingdome of *Ingland*, which they affirmed to belong

long too their sayd kinswoman, so that in the Court they were comonly called the Kings Uncles. The Admiral knowing their cruel, barbarous, and feerce nature, and perceiuing that they woulde neuer desist from troubblesum deuyses, and specially that they would most eagrely persecute religion, stacke to his accustomed purpoze, and determined to giue vp his lieftēnantship. Heruppō he brake his mind to Levvis of *Burbon* a Prince of the blud royal, cōonly called ẏ Prince of *Codey*, who had maryed his sisters dawghter, counselling him to sew to the Ring for ẏ charge.

So the Admiral being discharged of diuers cares, and set free from a nomber of assayres, which withdrew his godly mynd from the study of religion, kept himself at home in his castle of *Shatilion*, and that so much ẏ willinglier, bycause his wife Sharlot *de Lauall* a woman of a noble & auncient stocke, was wonderfully giuen to the following of godlinesse, (which he tooke too be a singular benefite of God) insomuch that she euen incoraged hir husband too forsake superstition and the worshipping of Idolls, and to imbrace the christian religion w̄ his whole hart. When the Admirall perceyued that she delt often and very earnestly w̄ him in the matter, he himself also determined to deale earnestly w̄ her at once. And therfore he told hir in many words, ẏ in all his life he neuer sawe or hearde of any man eyther in *Germanie* or in *Fraunce*, but he was in daunger too be ouerwhelmed w̄ great miseries and calamities, if he imbraced the religion any thing earnestly: and that the Lawes of

King Frauncis the first, & of King Henrie the second, being looked to most streightly in all Courts of Iustice, commaunded that all such as were condemned of that Religion, should be burned quicke in publike places, and all their goods be forfeyted to the King: and yet neuertheleſſe he truſted that his heart was ſo ſettled, as he ſhould not refuze the comon cace of all the protestants, nor fayle of his dewtie. Shee anſwered that the cace of the protestants of that time, was none other then the cace of the true Christians of all ages had bin: nether dowted she but it ſhould be the ſame ſtill to the worlds end. When they had plyghted their faithes on both ſides ech to other, the Admirall began by litle and litle to frame his houſehold & familiar freends to the knowledge of God by godly ſpeeches, and to deliuer them not only the holy bible, but alſo other books written of religion in french, to reade, forbidding them all ſwearing & blaſphemous banning, comonly vſed in the Realme of *Fraunce*, but ſpecially among ẏ Courtiers. Moreouer he ſet godly gouerners and teachers ouer his children, ſo that wᵗ in a few monethes ẏ howſe of Shatilion was of a new hewe and his other two brothers, Odet (whome I haue ſhewed afore to haue bin made a Cardinall) and Mounſyre d' Andelot were greatly inflamed to religion by that example. For ẏ Admirall had alwaies euen from his yong yeares, bin trayned vp in ẏ pleazures and corrupt manners of the Kings Court, and he was not thought to haue bin cleere of that infection. Notwithſtanding, when he once began to haue a

taſte

taste of the trew religion, there appeered sodeinly so greate an alteration in his life and conuersation, as a man might easily perceaue the force of Gods spirit in that so sodein chaūge, & find this saying of Christs too bee most trew, that they which are indewed with Gods spirit, are after a sort borne ageine and made new men. And this seemeth worthy of memorie, that befell him before he durst prepare too the Christian feaste and Sacrament of the Lordes supper. He had oftentimes talked with al the best learned Ministers of the Frenche Churches, not only of transsubstantiation (as the Sorbonists terme it) but also of consubstantiation: & like as the nature of mans witte is too seeke some locall and bownded presence of the Godhead too be worshipped in some certeine places, after which sort God exhibited his presence in old tyme in the arke of the couenant: so the Admirall required a certeine mingled presence of Christs body flesh blud and bone in the breade and the wyne. At length when he had bin at a Sermon that was made priuily to a fewe in the towne of *Vateuille*, at the end wherof the Lords supper was to be ministred, he besought such as were present, that they woulde not be offended at his infirmitie, but pray to God for him, and therwith all he requested the preacher to treate a litle playnlier of the misterie of the supper. Then the preacher spake to this effect: namely that of the Lords supper there were two parts: the one humane and naturall, which is seene with the eyes of the bodye, and the other diuine and heauenly which is seene with the eies

of the minde: and that the first consisted of the minister or giuer, and of breade and wyne, & furthermore of the eating & drinking of them, whereof the whole action was performed after an humane and naturall maner: and this other consisted of God the giuer of it, & of the whole frute of the crucified, requickened, and glorified body of Christ, which frute God gaue in the supper, & moreouer of the faith & beleef wherby ỳ sayd frute was receyued of Christians, ỳ whole action wherof was misticall, & performed after a diuine, heauenly, & supernaturall meane. And furthermore that forasmuch as the same action was ordeyned, not for the bread & wynes sake, but for the Christian mannes sake, & was to be referred too that end: it was in vaine to be ouercurious in seeking whether any thing be mixed in the bread, with ỳ bread, vnder the bread, within the bread or about the bread. The bread and wine belonged to the outward dooing, like as water and the dipping in it, do in Baptim. Therfore the mindes of men ought too be lifted vp too the heauenly and inward action, & to consider what God worketh in ỳ Sacrament, which thing Paule sheweth in these woords. Is not ỳ bread which we breake the parttaking of Christs body? & they must cry out with him, It is a secret misterie, importing the coniunction of Christ and his Churche. And finally it is very trewly sayd of Austin ỳ to eate the meate which perisheth not, but abideth vnto euerlasting life, is too beleue in Christ. Why prepares thou teeth & belly? beleeue, and thou hast eaten. And ageinː prepare not

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thy iawes, but thy hart. That is it wherewith that supper is to be eaten. Behold, wee beleeue in Christ, whom wee receyue by fayth. By which woords the Admirall being taught, gaue thanks first to God and secondly, to the congregation, determining with him selfe too be present at the communion as soone as it should be ministred agein, and too be made parttaker of that most holy misterie. Whereof when the fame was blowen abrode ouer all *Fraunce*, it is wonderful to say how greate ioy and comfort all the congregations conceyued. For although that vntoo that tyme the followers of the reformed religion were afflicted with most rigorous edicts of the Kings, and w̄ continuall persecutions and punishments of the iudges and Iusticers of the Realme, so as they were fayne too keepe priuy assemblies after the maner of the primitiue Churches: yit was religion maruelously spred abrode throughout all the Shyres of *Fraunce*, whereof a man may see many records in the Edicts or Proclamations of King Henry, & of King Fraun-cis the second, who make complaint in them, that the more labour they tooke after the example of Fraun-cis the first, in repressing the religion, y̆ more it kre-peth forward from day to day, sheading it selfe into all parts of the Realme, and growing still stronger and stronger.

Ere it was long after, there roze a commotion at *Amboys*, & many noblemen conspyred the destruction of y̆ howse of Gvvyse, whose ouerlustines & lordlines a nomber of y̆ french nobilitie & Lords could no lon-

get away with, now when as the Prince of *Condey* seemed to aly that waye, and there was some likelyhode that his brother the Kinge of *Nauarre* woulde make some stirre ere long after: the howse of Guyse thought it most expedient, that the King shoulde call an assembly of the noble men at the towne of *Fountaynbleawe*, to knowe how euery man was minded concerning religion. When the day of that meeting came, which was the xviii. of August 1560. and ỳ the King desired such as sate in counsell with him to say their iudgements: the Admirall rysing out of his place, and commynge honorably vnto the Kinge, did put vp two supplications intitled after this manner: *The supplication of such as worship God rightly & godlily, throughout diuers prouinces of this Realme.* Both the bookes were deliuered too Mounsyre de l'Aubespyne the Kings Secretarie, to reade them alowd as they were written. This deede of the Admirals, for the straungenesse of the matter, and in respect of the former tymes that he had past, and of the Kings mind which was most extremly bent against religion, and of the great authoritie of the house of Guyse, seemed somewhat with the boldest, both to the King and too the whole counsell. The effect of the bookes was this: That the godly and right worshippers of God taking the opportunitie of that tyme, besought the Kinges maiestie most humbly to extend his clemencie and gentlenesse towards the greatest nomber of his subiects, who hauing thitherto bin combred w many distresses, had abidden many miseries & bitter

bzunts foz religions sake: beseeching him most humbly, too vowtsafe too take intelligence of their cace, and too admit the holie scripture too the iudgment of so greate controuersies: foz therby he should eazely perceiue how greatly they abhozred, not only heresie, of which cryme they had bin accuzed of late yeeres, but also sedition: fozasmuch as in the vttermost extremitie of all their mizeries, they mynded not too resozt too violence and fozce of armes, but too the only clemencie and goodnesse of the King. Wherfoze it myght pleaze his maiestie too inhibit the iudgments that were woont too bee executed vpon them, wherthzough no part of his Realme had escaped theis fozmer yeeres, vnimbzewed with the blud of his subiects, by reason wherof their state had thithertoo bin miserable, fozasmuch as they were dziuen too pleade their cace befoze such iudges, as being the Bishop of Romes benefyzed and feede men, did rather beare the persones of aduersaries than of vpzyght iudges oz indifferent vmpers: and therfoze they pzayed him too haue an eye to the greate number of the calamities of his freendes and leege people, which had alwaies acknowledged him foz their King and moste mercifull Lozd, and earnestly and godlily honozed him accozding too Gods commaundement, and would not refuze too spend their lyues herafter foz the mayntenance of his estate, if neede should requyze: in respect wherof it was good ryght, that seing God had cõmitted them too his charge and trust, he should defend them from

the ouermyghtinesse & crueltie of their aduersaries: And their humble petition was, that thensforth they myght with his good fauour openly woorship God in publicke places, & be instructed in the knowledge of trew godlinesse by their preachers, and inioy the Sacraments that God hath ordeyned, leaste for wãt of being knowen, their religion myght any lõger lye opẽ too the malicious speeches of their aduersaries, bycawse of their secret meetings.

Uppon the reading of theis bookes, euerye man vttered his opinion, howbeeit their talk was not so much of Religion, as of the greate dette wherwith they complained that the king was in maner oppressed and ouerwhelmed. But the Admirall spake manie things verye boldly, specially concerning ẏ men of warre which ẏ howse of Gvvyse had gathered toogither in the hart of the realme, vnder colour of garding the kings persone, as thowgh the King were in a straunge countrie, and not in his owne dominion, and therfore needed so great a garde for the safety of his persone. Saying that the name of king was of so great preeminence in *Fraunce*, that any herault comming wẏ commission in the kings name, was able too appeaze anie vprore without further trubble. It is certeine that this speeche of the Admirals sank verie deepe intoo the stomacks of the Gvvisians, & that it kindled their hatred ageinst him the more vehemently. Dyuers other were of opinion, that it were moste conuenient too summon a generall assembly of the whole Realme, which they comonly terme ẏ assembly

bly of the States: and it was shewed, specially by Marilliak archbishop of *Vien*, & by Michaell de l'Hospitall, Lord Chauncelour of *Fraunce*, whose authoritie bare greatest sway at that tyme, that the same had bin the most auncient and cõtinewall custome of the *Frenchmen*, and yitnotwithstãding had bin omitted by the space of.87.yeeres, through the slaunders of certein flatterers.

About the same tyme dyed king Frauncis the second, and his yoonger brother Charles the nyneth being abowt ten yeeres old, succeeded him, & byandby the old petition of Summoning a generall Councel was renewed. Untoo that tyme Katherine Medicee the kings moother, a *Florentine* borne, had liued in such state as Queenes are woont to doo in their widowhoods, that is too wit, as a commaũder of hir owne women, & a keeper of the persone of hir sonne: but in no wyze admitted too haue too doo with matters of the state: and at that poynt was shee hild most streytly by the *Gwisians*, as long as they bare cheefe sway. Now forasmuch as at this tyme it seemed that the nobilitie of *Fraunce* woold not any longer indure the burnings, tormentings, and other punishments that were woont too bee executed vppon the protestants, and therfore it was too bee dowted least some new commotions woold ryze therof: bycause the Queene moother pretẽded a mynd not ildispozed towards religiõ: The Admirall labored by all meanes possible, & at lẽgth brought it to passe, ẏ she was matched as a companion & partaker of ẏ great charge of

gouernment, with Antonie King of *Nauarre*, too whom the Protectorship of the Realme was committed. Which deuyce of his, there were many men that loued well their countrie, which misliked, shewing by the hystories of all ages, that the gouernment of the Realme was neuer yit committed to Queene Mothers, specially if they were straungers borne, but it was too the vndooing and destruction of the commonweale of *Fraunce*, and a cause of ciuill discord.

When the day of the Generall Counsell came, he that spake in the name of the Nobilitie, did in the end of his Oration offer vp a booke of supplication too the Kings maiestie, requesting that the pure religion (which they terme comonly the reformed Religion) myght lawfully bee haunted and exercyzed openly in publicke places. Heragainst stoode vp an aduersarie called Quintin, a Doctor of the Canon law, and a professor of it in *Paris*, who (not making, but rehercing in wryting, a verie long oration in the name of the Clergie, not without prõpting of somme preests that stoode redie at his elbowe, too whisper him in the eare when he was at anie stoppe): was so bold as too say, ỳ all such as demaunded publicke places too exercyze religion in, were woorthie too bee punished as traytors and fauorers of newfownd religion. Wherof when the Admirall had complayned too the kings Counsell: Quintin being afrayd, confessed that he had not spoken any thing of his owne head at that tyme, but only reherced the booke

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as it was deliuered him in wryting by the Clergimen, offering himself redie too protest and avow in the same open assembly before the Kings Maiestie, that he ment not any thing at all of the Admirall: which thing was doone within a feawe dayes after, and so the Admiralles demaund was satisfyed. At the last, all Magistrates of *Fraunce*, and all that had commission too execute Justice, were commaunded by the kings authoritie, that they should out of hand dismisse all such as were held in ward or prizon for religions sake: and they were streytly forbidden too molest any man herafter for religion. As towching the publicke places where it should bee lawfull for them too haue Sermons, the determination therof was put ouer too another Generall Counsell, which was appoynted too bee at *Ponthoyse* a towne of *Picardie*, but not performed. The moneth of Januarie next insewing, a meeting of all the Princes and noble men of *Fraunce* was summoned too bee at *S. Germans*, and there by the aduyce of certeine counsellers of euery Parlament, an Edict was made by ỳ kings authoritie, & proclaymed throwghowt all *Fraunce*, that it should bee lawfull too exercyze the religion in the Suburbes of all Townes.

When this Edict was published, and the realme seemed too bee setled in quietnesse, and the comon weale too haue taken somme breth ageine, so as Sermons began too bee preached peaceably and quietly in the suburbes almoste of all great townes, yea and euen of *Paris* it selfe: newes was browght that

the Duke of Gvvyſe, who had at that tyme with-drawen himſelf intoo *Shampayne*, had made a ſlawgh-ter about. 200. men at *Vaſſey*, as they were at a Ser-mon vpon truſt of the authoritie of the kings Edict, and were ſinging of Hymnes after the end of comon prayer in a certein berne. The Duke of Gvvyſe is reported too haue executed this butcherly crueltie, vppon preſumption of the new frendſhip of the king of *Nauarre*, whoſe weake mynd he had drawen vn-too him by warranting him the kingdome of Sar-dinia, and bownd him vntoo him by manie other promiſes. Therfore preſuming vppon that truſt, within feawe dayes after, he came too the Court, accompanied with his brothers and with a greate trayne of armed men: and there tooke the yoong king and his moother, who ſeemed too ſhunne that violence with greate lamentation and weeping, whom he conueyed firſt too *Melune*, and anon after too *Paris*.

In that tyme the Queene Moother ſent meſſen-gers oft tymes too the Admirall, and alſo wrate with hir owne hand too the Prince of Condey, that he ſhould ſuccour hir and hir yoong children, and haue a care of the welfare of the realme. The Prince being moued with theis things, and moreouer per-ſwaded by the intreatance of moſte of the noblemen of *Fraunce*, determined too put on armes, and too make warre vppon the howſe of Gvvyſe, too ſet the King at libertie: proteſting oftentymes openly, that he feared not the ſlaunderous ſpeeches of ſome men,

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as thowgh he ment too inlarge the religion by foꝛce of armes, oꝛ too make warre ageinſt the king being a chyld. Foꝛ a general aſſembly of the whole realme had bin hild at *Orleance*, wherin bothe the comons and the nobilitie had requyꝛed the reforꝛmation of Religion, and afterward an Edict was made in that greate aſſembly, that it ſhould bee lawfull too exerꝛyze the ſame in ſuburbes and villages. And what ryght in the kingdome of *Fraunce*, had the Duke of Gvvyſe being boꝛne in *Lorreine*? Oꝛ vppon what grownd ſhould he pꝛeſume, too execute ſuch crueltie vppon the kings ſubiects? Finally, there was no good too bee doone ageinſt foꝛce but by foꝛce: and therfoꝛe he himſelf did not moue warre, but bi warre defend peaceable people ageinſt warre made vppon them. Saying it was alredy bꝛuted ouer all *Fraunce*, and alſo repoꝛted intoo *Germanie*, that the Duke of Nemovvrs at the pꝛouocation of the Gvviſians, had with fayꝛe wooꝛdes intyced Henrye the kings bꝛother a little chyld, (who ſince that tyme was created king of *Poole*) too haue conueyed him owt of the pꝛecint of the Realme: (which purpoze and dꝛift the chyld bewꝛayed too his moother, and ſo that diſcouerie of ẏ matter was at ẏ time in all mennes mouthes) & that the *Gwiſians* deſpyzing the authoꝛitie of ẏ generall aſſembly and of the king, executed butcherly crueltie at *Vaſſey* with extreme furie and pꝛyde: layd violent hãds vppõ the king & Queene moother, & caryed them away ageinſt their willes to *Melune* and *Paris*, as ſeemed moſte foꝛ the *Gwiſians* commoditie,

went intoo the boyders of *Germanie* a little befoyre, and requested certeine pyinces of *Almanie* too bee admitted intoo the nomber of the Pyotestants: Inuited Christopher Duke of *Wirttemberg* a pyince of great coyage and wisdome too *Sauerne* a towne next too *Strawsborow*: where the Cardinall of *Loreine* made twoo such Sermons openly in the Churche befoyre the sayd Pyince and a greate nomber of the pyofessers of the religion, bothe *Germanes* and *Frenchmen*, as he perswaded verye manie, that bothe he himself and also his byethyen imbyaced the Religion, and were desyyous too pyofesse their names among the pyotestant pyinces.

When theis things were knowen, the pyince of *Condeyes* enterpyyze was so well lyked in manie places of *Fraunce*, that within feawe dayes dyuers Cities yeelded themselues too him, and ioyned with him in societie of the warre. Among those were *Orleance*, *Bloys*, *Towres*, *Burgis*, *Roan*, *Lyons*, *Vien*, *Valentia*, *Nemowrs*, and *Mountalbon*: which were the beginners of the Ciuill warre, wherof the butcherly slawghter of *Vassey* is certeinly knowen too haue bin the cawse. Now when as on the part of the pyotestants, the cheef charge of the warres was by comon consent of all men put too the Pyince of *Condey*: soodeinly the Pyince with lyke consent of all men, surrendered the charge of his gouernment too the Admirall: and foy the singular opinion that was had of his Iustice, grauitie and wisdome, oydeyned him too bee his leeuetennant and deputie too rule in his sted.

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Whyle these things were a doing, the Queene moother began too treate of peace, for the dooing wherof she desired the Prince of *Condey* too come too her tent: and to graunte hir the vse of *Boigencie*, for a few dayes, which towne hath a bridge ouer the riuer of *Loyre*, and therfore was (as shee sayd) most fit for cõmunication. The Prince vppon single promis made vntoo him, without taking of any pledges, but onely trusting to the faythfulnesse of his brother the King of *Nauarre*, and too the promises of the Queene mother, went to their Cãpe. Only he desired ẏ Queene, that the Cunstable, the Duke of Gvvyse, & the marshall of *S. Andrevves*, (which were comonly called the three rooters vp of the comon weale) shoulde depart out of the Campe whyle that communication lasted. Which thing being doone the garrison was withdrawen out of *Boigencie* and the towne deliuered to the Queene. Byandby shee manned it, and pretending a communication, to outward showe of peace & reconcylement, not only reteyned the Prince, but also tooke the towne and fortified it w̃ all things needfull for the warre. With which trecherie the Admirall being sore moued, determined not to fayle in his dewtie towards the Prince, but went out of hand w̃ his horsemen to the Campe of his aduersaries, and strake such a terrour into them, that the Queene cõmaunded ẏ Prince too be deliuered immediatly. And within a fewe dayes after, the Admirall leading his armie too *Boigencie* woone the towne by force, & not without somme losse of his owne people, recouered

it agein.

Abowt the same tyme, the Admirals eldest sonne named Iasper being consumed with sickenesse, dyed at *Orleance* scarce nyne yeeres old, but of singular towardnesse, which cawsed the Admirall too take his death very sore to hart. In the meane whyle ỹ Gvvysians seeing them selues forsakē of many Frenchmen whom the cace concerned, and perceyuing that the most part fauored the Prince of *Condey*, mynded too seeke help of forren Realmes. And therfore sending money into *Svvisserland* and into *Germanie*, they hyred footmen of the one, & horsmen of the other: which thing the Admirall did oftentimes abow to be a most sure proof of treason, and of their enemy like mind to the Crowne of *Fraunce*. For whither the cace (quoth he) bee to bee decyded by the auncient maner of the Realme, there are publike decrees in force made by act of parlament, the authoritie wherof is certeinly knowen to haue bin highest, euer since the settling of the kingdome of *Fraunce*, or if the matter bee to bee committed to rightful indifferencie of chalenge, who seeth not that the greater part of *Fraunce* is on our side? and that to call in forrein forces to oppresse our owne countrymen, is not the nature of a frenchman, but the token of a barbarous and sauage mind, and a proof of an enemylyke hart. Notwithstanding, lest ỹ Admiral might disappoynt the willingnes of so many of his freends, & the expectation of so many cities, which had ioyned in freendship w̄ him: forasmuch as he was aduertized late afore of the singular good wil

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of certeine *Germane* Princes towards the churches of *Fraunce*, to the intent to match straungers ageinst straungers: he desired his brother the Andelot to go to those Princes, and to sew to them for their helpe: (which thing he did) and within three monethes after, brought three thowsand horsmen and six thowsand footemen with him into *Fraunce*.

While theis thīgs were adoing, word was brought to the Admiral, that certein battering peeces of ordinance, and a great quantity of gunpowlder, were going towards the Duke of Gvvyselying then at the seege of *Burgis*, too assault the Citie withall: and that the Mayster of that ordinance was one Thonne a Lorreiner, a man not ignorant of warlike affayres, who for the better safecondit of them, had six troopes of horsmen and certeine antsignes of footemen assigned vnto him. Vppon the intelligence herof, the Admiral hauing gotten occasion of a noble exployt, hied him thitherward apace, accompanyed with a feawe horsmen. His enemies did scarsly abyde ẏ first brunt, insomuch that the most part of them began to throw away their weapons, and too take them to their legges. The footemen vnharnished their horses out of the carts, and leauing the Gunnes and the waggons loden wᵭ Gunpowlder, followed after their fellowes that were fled afore them. Thonne was takē prisoner fighting. The Admiral hauing gottē so great a pray, called his witts about hī how he might cary it away, being vtterly destitute of drawghthorses. Therfore he did as necessitie counselled him, he ouercharged ẏ

peeces with powlder and put fire too them to breake them, which when it tooke not place, he pyled vp the barrels of powlder toogether with the Gunnes and all the carts and wagons into one place, and putting fire too the powlder, made a terrible thundercracke in the ayre, and marred what he could with burning.

Assoone as Mounsyre d'Andelot was returned out of *Germanie*, and had brought ỹ sayd three thowsand horsmen and six thousand footemen with him: ỹ Prince of *Condey* hauing gathered a meetly strong armie of Frenchmen & Germanes, marched towards *Paris*. The Gvvysians likewise brought foorth their power, (among whom were the Svvissers in whom was their chief trust) & met with our men at an old towne which is certeinly knowen too haue bin the dwelling place of the Druyds, & there ioyned battell the successe wherof was indifferent on both sids. For on the Duke of Gvvyse side the Cũstable was taken prizoner, and on the other side the Prince of *Condey*, who was the chef ringleader as is shewed afore. Upon the receyuing of this losse, whẽas our battell began too go by the woors, and many of the footemen hauing cast away their weapons, partly laye slayne vppon the ground, and partly yeelded themselues to their enemies: the Admirall gathering his horsmen togither into ỹ next woode, and incoraging them that they should not regard their liues more then their religion, their countrie, and their honour, renewed the battel, wherin one of the marshalls of *Fraunce* called the marshall of *S. Andrevves*, a man of greate authoritie

ritie in the Court, and Mounſyre Broſſe the Duke of Gvvyſe Lieuetennant, and a nomber of other Gẽtlemen were forthwith ſlayne. The Cunſtable who was Generall of the feeld, and of very greate authoritie, being taken priſoner by a valiant gentleman called VVilliam Steward of *Veſine*, & being ſought for by many ſouldyers that would haue ſlayne him, was notwithſtanding ſaued by him, for that he was of kin to the Admirall, and for that the Prince of *Cõdey* was in perill, and ſo he was conueyed ſafe to *Orleance*.

When things were thus grawen to a miſcheef, & all hope of peace was paſt, the Duke of Gvvyſe incamped himſelf neere to *Orleance*, and aſſayled it very ſore on the one ſide: during which time the Admirall leauing his brother the Andelot behynd him to defend the Citie, tooke his iourney into *Normandie*, and beſeeged the Caſtle of *Caen*, wherinto the Marquis of *Elbeuf* one of the Duke of Guyſis brother, had in thoſe feawe dayes retyred him ſelfe: who after the taking of the Citie, began too treate for cõpoſition, and deliuered vp the Caſtle with all the armure and furniture thereof into the Admiralls hand. There was at that tyme in the Duke of Gvvyſis Campe a yong man called Iohn Poltro of the howſe of Merey a man of good worſhip: who hauing imbraced ỹ religion, & bin familiar many monethes wᵗ the Prince of Condeyes ſide, did ſuddenly take a toy in his head at *Lyons*, to kill the Duke of Gvvyſe, whome as the butcherly ſlaughterman of his coun-

trey, and as the author of so greate mizeries, he was woont oftentymes too pray ageinst moste bitterly, in all his familiar talke. Therefore hauing alwayes this saying in his mowth, what skills it whither a man vse manlinesse or wylinesse ageinst his enemie? he determined too go intoo his Camp as a reuolter, and too hunt for opportunitie too accomplish his deuyce by hooke or by crooke. For were I bownd too him (quoth he) eyther by way of seruis, or by any kind of benefyte, or by any othe, nothing in the world should make mee too hazard my good name. But seing that no bond tyeth me too him, why should I not imitate the prowesse of *Sceuola* in his enterpryze of killing King Porsenna? When Poltro had continued a good whyle in this mynd in the Dukes Campe, at length vppon occasion offred, he shot him throwgh the right shoulder with a pellet of leade, of which wound he dyed within feawe dayes after, and when he was once deade, peace did forthwith growe too effect without any stoppe, so as the Edict was renewed, and libertie of following the religion was permitted vppon certeine conditions, throwghout all *Fraunce*. Wheruppon all men for the moste part began too reason, that as Helene was to the Troianes, so the Duke of Gvvyse was too the Frenchmen the cawse of all the greate miseries that befell them, forasmuch as the warres were so suddeinly whist and extingwished by his death.

Howbeeit within a feawe monethes after, when the Admirall came too the Court by the Kings sending

sending for him, there was a newe incounter stirred vp ageinst him by a woman. For the Duches of Gvvyse falling downe humbly at the Kings feete, sewed with manie teares for the reuendgement of hir husbands murther, whereof shee auowed the Admirall too haue bin the author and practizer. The Admirall perceyuing that, and smelling that that pageant was played by the motion of a higher force, too the end that he which could not bee ouercomme by battell, might bee intrapped by sum slightie conueyance: first shewed too the King and his moother and too all the whole counsell, that Poltro the author of that murther being alredy apprehended, had bin arreigned and executed for it, whither rightly or vnrightly it was no tyme as then to debate, but howsoeuer the cace stoode, as greate a cryme as it was, it had bin sufficiently, and more than sufficiently reuēged, by the extreme punishment of the same Poltro, who was rent asunder alyue wyth charyots at *Paris*. Moreouer that they had such a condemned persone of him, as not only acknowledged the deede, but also glorifyed and vaunted of it, assuring him selfe that that mynd was put intoo him by God, so as he dowted not but that he had doone acceptable obedience to God, and a singular and beneficiall good turne to his countrie, in ridding such a tyrant out of the world, as was alwayes raging, alwayes mad, & alwayes thirstie of christen blud. If Poltro had vttered any thing ageinst him vppon promis of pardon, or intyced by fayer woords, while he was in durance in the comon

Jaile, he ought to haue bin kept aliue, like as he him selfe had requyred by many letters and messages, while Poltro was yet alyue in the comon pryzon, that assoone as the warres were ended, he might haue bin examined of him by lawfull ozder of Justice face to face, wheras now, seeing he is dead, nether his confession noz his deposition ought too bee of any impoztance in a cace of lyfe and death, specially ageinst a man of such state & calling as he was in ỳ Realme. Furthermoze albeeit that he oz any other of his armie had neuer so much inuegled Poltro too that attempt: yit notwithstanding could it seeme any heynous fault foz an enemie to deale enemylike with his enemie? Had there bin any trewce at that tyme, oz was the Admirall bownd too him by any couenant oz othe? To what purpoze should Capteines keepe gards abowt them in their Campes, (but too looke too the safety of their persones?) To be shozt, though none of these things were: yit since that tyme peace had bin reconcyled, not only betweene the souldiers of both parts, but also much moze betweene the capteines and officers of the bands, too the benefyte of the comon weale, too the which publike benefite and ciuill concozd, this newe kinde of quarreling was a hinderance. And if they would needes haue that murther sifted out too the bottome: he also would requeste the King, that he on his syde might haue leaue too preferre indytements agaynst them likewise. Foz it might bee easily proued, that the Duke of Gvvyse had executed vnlawfull crueltie ageinst the kings

subiects,

subiects, & broken all the holie decrees of the realme confirmed by the kings Edict, and also committed hygh treason by making warre of his owne priuate authoritie, and by vsurping the whole state of the realme: and finally had confounded all lawes of God and man, & bin the firebrond of all the great broyles wherewith *Fraunce* had burned abowt 13. moonethes.

Uppon the heering of this oration of the Admiralles, howbeeit that the same processe was renewed dyuers tymes by the *Gwisians* afterward, at length the king summoned the princes and noblemē of his realme, toogither with his graue counsellers and men of cheefest authoritie, too meete at the Citie of *Molins*. The Cardinall of *Lorreine* taking too him his brothers widowe, willed hir too speake for that parte: and therwithall gaue the Admiral leaue too answer what he could in his defence. When the matter had bin debated on bothe sides, the king by the aduice of his counsellers, demaunded of them whither there were any of that assembly, whom they thowght partiall and meete too bee remoued. They answered that they lyked well of all. Then he demaunded agein, whither their desire was that he should doo them iustice in that cace, & whither they woold promis too stand too his iudgment or no. When bothe parties had answered that they woold verye willingly stand too the kings determinacion: within a feawe dayes after, the. 29. day of Januarie 1566, sentence was giuen woord for woord in forme

followinge. The King hauing herd bothe ẏ parties, and considered the matter with his Counsell, and perceyuing that the verdites and oppinions of his Peeres and Counsellers consented and agreed all in one withowt anie variablenesse: giueth definitiue sentence that the Admirall Shattilion seemeth cleere and giltlesse of the murthering of the Duke of *Gwyse*, and therof dooth vtterly acquit him. And therwithall cõmaundeth his Attourney generall, & all others too whom such matters belong, neuer to speake moze of it. Furthermoze he fozbiddeth them ẏ had bin the aduersarie parties in that cace, & all other his subiects, too bee so bold as too haue any speeche therof, & likewyse all iudges & ministers of Justice, too suffer that matter to be called anie moze in questiõ befoze them: giuing all men too vnderstand, ẏ he hath taken bothe the parties intoo his custodie & protection: and therfoze giueth the parties streight charge, ẏ they should thensforth liue quietly & frendly vnder his obeisãce, & not practyze any thing one ageinst another. If any of the kinsfolk, countrisolk, acquaintãce, oz frends of the aduersary parties do ageinst this Decree: he shal be takẽ foz giltie of hygh treason as a traytoz too the kings person, in violating ẏ publik peace & tranquillitie. And therfoze it is his pleasure that this sentẽce be proclaimed & inrolled in al his Courts of Justice.

But now must wee returne ageine to the dooings of the fozmer yeere. Within a feawe moonethes after, there happened a thing which (too my seeming) is not too bee let passe, bycawse it may bee a recozd

of

of a moste gentle and meeld disposition. There was a certeine gentleman called Hamberuillier borne of a worshipfull howse, whom the Admirall had interteyned manie yeeres in howsehold very familiarly, and had vsed his seruis in his affayres of most credit and estimation. A letter of this mannes was intercepted in the Court, wherin he wrate too certein whom it is not requysite too name at this present, that he woold within feawe dayes dispatch the matter that was inioyned him, and giue the Admirall a drink too cast him intoo a dead sleepe. When this letter was browght too the Admiralles hand, he sent for the partie, and willed him too wryte certein verses with his owne hand in a paper that was redie there: and when he had compared them bothe toogither, he asked him whither he acknowledged the letter too bee his hand or no. Which when he had acknowledged, being conuicted of the wicked deede by his owne conscience, he kneeled downe byandby, and beseowght his mayster of mercie. The Admirall answered that he forgaue him, howbeeit vppon condicion that he should voyd his howse out of hand, and neuer comme in his syght more.

Herafter wee must retyre backe too the practizes of the Court the last yeere. For within a feawe moonethes after the Proclayming of the peace, the Queene Moother determined too make a progresse too *Baion*, to see hir sonne in Lawe the King of *Spayne*, and too carrye hir sonnes thither with hir for a certeine purpoze, which being knowen too feaw at

that time, did afterward burst owt in tragicall euẽts. First therfore shee tooke hir iourney to *Lyons*, which vnto that tyme was in the power of the protestants, by reason of the multitude of Citizens and Countrie folkes that fauored the Religion therabowts. As soone as shee came thither, shee gathered toogither the *Italian* Carpenters & Masons euerywhere, and commaunded a hold (which the *Italians* doo comonly call a Citadell) too bee bwilded in all haste vppon the next hil, too ouerlooke the towne. A little before, the plage began too growe whot, & had now cawght hold of the Courtyers: and yit the Queene could not bee perswaded too remoue hir children from thence, vntil shee had seene the fowndacion of the Hold laid. When shee saw that the plage was crept euen into ỹ Court, Shee made one Mounsyre Lossie gouerner of *Lyons*, a cruell and barbarous man, and a most deadly enemy of Religion, appoynting him a garrison of certein prowd and ruffianly souldyers, too vex the Citizens (which were giuen too religion) wyth continewall wrongs and despites. Afterward, which way so euer the king made his progresse with that greate trayne, intoo whatsoeuer Citie, towne, village, or Manour he was browght: woonderfull it is too report, but yit most certeinly knowen and talked of in all mennes mowthes, so greate a plage followed the kings traine continewally, that for the space of three moonethes toogither, he neuer lodged in any howse, but the present perill of the plage draue him owt of it agein.

Whyle

Whyle theis things were a doing, & the Queene mother communicated hir deuyces with hir dawghter the Queene of *Spayne*, and with the king hir husbandes Ambassadours: the Marshall Memorancie (whom the king had left gouernour of *Paris*) was certifyed that the Gvvisians wrowght secret practizes, too stirre vp the comons of *Paris* ageinst such as professed the trew and vncorrupted religion: and that the Cardinall of *Lorrein* woold bee there within a day or twayne with a greate trayne of armed men. It had bin forbidden dyuers tymes afore by the kings Proclamations, that no man should iourney with hargabusse or pistolet, or haue anie abowt him. When it was told the Marshall that the Cardinall and his companie were come into the Citie, armed with such weapons: byandby he went and met him with his garrison, and commaunded them too lay away their weapons. Which dooing of his, the Cardinall and his brothers sonne the yoong Duke of Gvvyse taking in greate despyte and reproche, were herd oftentymes afterward too say, that that deede should cost Memorancie his lyfe. When this vprore was stirred vp in the Citie, where the Cardinall myght haue rayzed threescore thowsand armed men in one day too haue slayne Memorancie: Memorancie thought it good too call his freends abowt him, and specially the Admirall, who being accompanied with threehundred horsmen or therabowts, came too *Paris* the. 22. day of Januarie: which thing did so scare the feebleharted people giuen woonderfully

too ſuperſtition, and cheefly the Preeſts, Moonks, & the Canons of the Cathedrall Churche, that a great ſort of them began too deuyze how too flee away. The next day Memorancie ſent for the prouoſtes of the Parlament, and for ſuch as bare cheef authoritie at that tyme in the Citie, home too his howſe. Too whom in the preſence of the Admirall, he ſpake of the Cardinall of Lorreines ouerbold and ſeditiows enterpryzes, and of the flocking toogither of certeine Citizens, telling them that forasmuch as they had giuen it owt euerywhere, that the Admirall leuyed men of warre, and practized meanes too ſacke that riche Citie, whyle the king was farre of in his progreſſe: he thowght it beſt too call him owt before them, that he myght tell them playnely what he mynded too doo. Then, I knowe wellynough alredy (quod the Admirall) what things are ſpred abrode of mee by leawde and maliciowſe perſones, as who ſhoulde ſay, I ſowght meanes too ſacke this Citie, which is knowen too bee the cheef fortreſſe of the Realme, and the Nobleſt lyght of all *Fraunce*. Theis kynd of dealings are meete for ſuch, as chalendge I wote not what kynd of ryght too the ſucceſſion of the Crowne, and beare the worlde in hande that certeine Dukedommes and Erldommes owght too bee reſtored vnto them. As for mee, I put yow owt of dowt, I clayme not anie maner of ryght too the Kingdome, nor too anie parte therof. And if I did, I beleeue there was neuer any Nobleman of *Fraunce* this fyue hundred yeeres,

yeeres, that had so good opportunitie offered him too trubble the state. Yee remember howe greate occasion of settyng the matter abroche, I had at such tyme as the Duke of *Guyse* was slayne, and the Cunstable my prizoner at *Orleance*, if I had bin minded too rebell. But I neuer sewed moze earnestlye too the Queene Mother, and too the Kings Counsell foz peace, than when I was in my cheefest prosperitie. Who knoweth not that I sowght peace with moste earnest intreatance and sewte, at such tyme as a nomber of noble Cities had alredye put themselues vnder my protection, and manie mo bothe of *Normandie* and little *Brittaine*, offred mee their freendshippe and societie vnrequested? Who knoweth not that wheras vpon the conclusion of the peace, I myghte haue serued myne owne turne by ambitiowse crauing of roomes of authozitye and honoure at the Kings hand, yit I choze rather too get mee home, and there too leade a priuate lyfe modestly and quietly vntoo this day? But too let theis things passe, and too go forward with the things that wee haue in hand, being called by the Marshall Memorancie, I made hasse too comme vnto yow: not of purpoze too make anie innouation oz trubble in anie thing: but rather too quenche such broyles, as were lyke too bee stirred vp a late throwgh somme mennes ouerboldnesse. I thinke there is none of you all but he knoweth, how greate credit the professers of the purer Religion doo giue mee.

Surely a nomber of them being moued with theis straunge rumors, and put in feare through the factious deuyces and enterpryzes of the Gvvisians resort vntoo mee dayly, bringing letters intercepted, concerning the flocking toogither of certeine vndercapteines, which commaund their old soulduers too bee redye with their armour, that they may step foorth owt of hand whensoeuer neede shall requyre. What needeth manie woords? Certein letters were intercepted writtен intoo *Normandie*, and fathered vpon the authoritie of the Queene moother, a Copie wherof I bring yow here owt of myne owne cofers, and will reherce one poynt therof which is this.

There is no fitter vvay too restore the Crovvne of *Fraunce* too such as haue ryght too it by auncient inheritance, and too destroy the hovvse & offspring of *Valoys*, than by killing all the Hugonotes vvhich are the vpholders therof. Therfore vvee must confiscate their goodes, that the monny vvhich is made of them may yeeld vs armour and treazure. And if the Hugonotes go too lavv for it: the matter shalbe so handled in iudgment, as they shall haue final list too make any sevvt for domages.

Besydes this, what shall I speake of the slawghters and robberies that are committed almost day by day? It is sufficiently knowen, that since the proclayming of the peace, aboue. 500. protestants haue bin slayne in sundrie places, and yit the magistrates haue not punished the murther of anie one of them. They that complayne of it too the king or ỹ Queene moother,

moother, receyue nothing but words, or sum emptie sheete of paper, or els sum skin of parchment. Who knoweth not that a greate slaughter was made alate of the protestants, openly in the citie of *Turon*, yea euen wt standerd and antsignes displayed, euen in the presence of him whom the Duke Mompaunser had sent thither to make peace? And yit for all this, it is said yt diuers of your clergimē are striken wt so great feare of this my comming into yt citie, that they cōsult how to forsake it, yitnotwtstanding, there is no place in al *Fraunce*, no towne so strōg, no hold, no village, where Preests dwell more safe and sure, or where they exercyze their ceremonies and massings more freely, then in mine owne manour of *Shatilion*. Uppō yt making of this oratiō the company was dismissed.

The next day came abowt a thirtie of the cheese merchantmē of *Paris* to Memorancy, and after them the Bishop of *Paris* with the Chauncelour of the vniuersity and a great rable of Clergimen: to whom the Admiral speaking very courteously, bad them be all of good cheere, Also wtin a feawe dayes after, being brought into the Parlamenthowse, he confirmed wt many words, yt he wished nothing more then the concord and quietnes of the Citizens, nor vndertooke yt iourney vppon any other purpose, then that, requyring them likewize, that the Citie might be ordered peaceably and quietly. When things were thus set at a stay, the Admirall at his returne home was certified by his friends, yt one May a man of bace calling which had a ferme not farer frō yt castle of *Shatilion*,

& played the theefe vnder pretence of Innkeping, was hyred by the Duke of *Awmall* the Duke of Guyse brother, to lay wayt for him, if he happened to go abrode anywhither a hunting, & that he had paied him a hundred crownes aforehand in ỹ respect, & also giuẽ him a very goodly great horse. To the furtherãce herof came this also, that ỹ Admiral being often told of his theeuery, had threatened him to cõmit him vpon felonie, if he herd of those things any more, & hauing gotten sufficient witnesses had lately before indited him of diuers robberies in ỹ parlamẽt of *Paris*. When Mayes trecherie was knowen & bewrayed to the Admiral: there was a bayt laid for him, and being apprehended wᵗ in feawe daies after, & brought forth to his arreignement at *Paris*, he began to appeache ỹ Admiral & diuers others, as though they had delt wᵗ him to haue killed the Queene mother, and had promised him a great reward for so dooing. Notwithstãding the Senators of the parlament of *Paris* finding out the slaunder, and cawsing the indytement of felonie too bee followed ageinst him, condemned him too death, according to which sentence he was executed vpon the wheele in the cheef streete of all *Paris*.

Ere long after, the Prince of *Condey* had a sonne borne, to whom ỹ King intended to be Godfather, & to giue him his name, after ỹ accustomed maner. But forasmuchas he could not wel do it bycause of his religion, it pleazed him to giue the honour therof to the Admiral, willing him to cawse the infant to be baptized & christened in his name: which thing was doone wᵗ exceeding great pomp & royall preparation, as is

wont to be in Princes Courts. For at ỳ feast, a table was laid for ỳ Admirall as if it had bin for the King himself, wherat he sat alone as ỳ King is wont to do, & was serued as a King, which dealing all men construed to be a sure token of the Kings singular good will towards him.

Anon after, tidings was brought that Ferdinando Duke of Alua was cõming with an hoste into nether *Dutchland* by the Spanish Kings commission & cõmaundement, to suppresse the vprores that were raised ther for religiõs sake. Now forasmuchas he was to conuey his army by the borders of *Fraunce*, ỳ Admiral sitting w̃ the Kings cõsel, desired that regard might be had of *Burgundy*, and that a garrison might be sent thither for defence of the countrie, rather of Swissers than of Frenchmẽ, lest perhaps sum broyle might be made for religions sake. And it was comõly thought at that time, ỳ the said army of Swissers, which consisted of six thowsand men, were for none other purpose than to withstand the Duke of Aluaze force, if he should attempt any thing in ỳ marches of *Burgundie*. But anon after, the Prince of *Rochsurion* a Prince of the Kings blud, wrate to the Admirall, desirig hĩ to send hĩ priuily sum freend of his whõ he might best trust, and he would bewray such things vnto him as did very greatly concerne his welfare, & were not to be vttered to all mennes hearing. And so within a feawe daies after, the Prince of *Rochsurion* being freend to the Prince of *Condey* by reason of his alyance too the Kings howse, bewrayed vntoo

him secretly, how consultatiõ was had at *Baion*, to extingwish the religion comonly called ẏ reformed religiõ, & to oppresse such as were ẏ professers therof: and that the hyring of the Svviſſers vnder colour of fortifying the fruntiers of *Fraunce* ageinst the Duke of *Aluaze* power, was for the same purpoze.

The same tyme the Admiral was aduertized both by letters and by wooꝛd of mowth at many mennes hands, that the armie of the Svviſſers was conueyed into the boꝛders of *Fraunce*, and into the innermoꝛe part of *Burgundie*. Uppon knowledge wherof, firſt ẏ Prince of *Condey*, & afterward the Admiral himselfe went to the Court, and told the King, ẏ Queene mother, and the Counsell, that they sawe no sufficient cause to bring these armies of Svviſſers into ẏ Realm, except it were perchaunce to oppresse them & a nomber of other honoꝛable howses, which profeſſed ẏ religion: neuertheleſſe that the number of such as had profeſſed themselues to be of the religion, was greater than it was comonly taken too be: whereof they had tryal in ẏ laſt warres, & therfoꝛe that if they perceyued their enemies to attempt any innouation of things, they would be euen with them, and not suffer themselues to be murthered at those cutthꝛots hãds: wherfoꝛe they prayed and beſowght the Kings maieſtie, to be moued with compaſſion, eyther towards so many howses of honour and woꝛship, oꝛ at leaſtwise towards his afflicted countrie, and the soꝛloꝛne people of *Fraunce*.

Being shaken of in the Court, & vnhonoꝛably delt with, and moꝛeouer vnderſtanding themselues to be

in great daunger of their liues, they tooke counsell, not to faile themselues & so many christiã churches, specially at ẏ request of the most part of the nobilitie & gentlemen, and at the earnest intreatance of an innumerable sort of their good countrymen, which cõplained ẏ they were no lõger able to abide ẏ wrongs, wherwith they were continually vexed at the Magistrats hands. When they had determined vppon that poynt, forasmuchas they perceyued that the Kings name would beare a singular sway among the cities, and that therfore the Duke of Gvvyse had in the former warres indeuered to haue the King in his owne tuicion: they communicated their intent to very few, and tooke their iourney priuily to the court, to see if they could by any meanes conuey the King away from the custodie of the Queene moother and of the Gvvyses, that they might prouide for ẏ comon peace and concord, by remouing vngracious counsell from him. But being bewrayed of one of their confederacie, they lost the opportunity of bringing that matter to passe: by reason wherof they were driuen to trye ẏ matter by open warre. When they cãe at *Paris*, they mustred their adherents, & found that there were on their side sumwhat lesse then a thousand horsmen, & about a threehundred footmen. For the Andelot had caried away the most part of his armie with him too *Poysse* the day before, to cut of vittels from the Parisians by taking the bridg ouer the riuer of *Sean*. There went out of *Paris* fifteene thowsand footmen, and mo then six thowsand horsmen, vnder the Cunstable, who

ioyning battel with them was sore wounded, and died within seawe dayes after. In that battell a man might haue seene the singular woorking of God in preseruing the Admiral. For wheras he rode vppon an ouerfeerce horse, that would not in any wise welneere be ruled, his muzzol brake asunder, & his horse carted him twice through the battell of his enemies where they were thickest, and yit he was not hurt at all, notwithstanding ẏ the pistolets discharged their shot at him on all sides, with one of the pellets whereof his horse being hit, suffred him to bring him backe agein easly into his owne battell.

After the receyuing of greate losse on both sids, but specially on the prince of *Condeis* side, the Kings armie was discomfited and driuen into the Citie of *Paris*, and it seemed best to the prince and the Admirall to take their way into *Lorrein*, too the horsmen ẏ wer sent thẽthither by ẏ appointmẽt of certein Princes of *Germanie*. For they saw it was needefull agein to impugne forreiners with forreiners. In that iourney, being ouertaken by their aduersaries w̃ a great power, wherof the Generall was Henry the Kings brother, then Duke of *Aniow*, afterward King of *Polland*, & now King of *Fraunce*, who prealled continually vppon their reereward, they oftentimes receiued many harmes. When they came into *Lorrein*, whither Casimire the Palsgraue electors sonne was come before them w̃ a great host of Almaynes, there rose a new occasion of trouble and incomberãce. For there was owing to those Almaynes a certein tymes wages,

wages, and there could no meanes be fownd to pay any peece of it, were it neuer so litle. Out of hand the Admirall found a remedy for that mischeef. He required that all men as well the Rascalls & Lackeys of the hoste, as the horsmen and the comon souldiers should be taxed by the poll, so farre forth as euery mannes abilitie would beare. First of all the Admiral himself cawsed fiue hundred frenchcrownes to be told out of his owne cofers. The like was doone of all the rest according to euery mans abilitie, and Collectors were sent to euery band to gather it vp. And moreouer looke whatsoeuer siluer the Prince of *Cõdey*, the Admirall, & the Counties of *Andelot* & *Rochfocawlt* had of their owne, it was deliuered euerywhit of it to ẏ Collectors. Thus in very small tyme there was gathered with the singular good will of al men, the summe of fowerscore thowsand pownds, & it was iudged that by that coũsell of the Admirals, ẏ whole army was saued, which not only was persecuted by the aduersaries, but also threatened by ẏ Germanes their leagefellowes and succorers. Whẽ the powers of ẏ Germanes & Frenchmen were once ioyned togither, the Aduersaries returning suddenly backe, wẽt in great iourneies vnto *Paris*, which thĩg Hẽry ẏ kĩgs brother deemed to redownd to his greate dishonour.

The Prince of *Condeies* men being now wel cheered and full of good hope, went to beseege *Sharters*, which when they had beaten a good while w̃ greate ordinance, & cast downe a peece of the wall, insomuch that the Andelot was now redye to haue led them to

the assault: suddenly the Kings Trumpetters came in poste, and sending a Herault, declared that peace was concluded. For commissioners had mette on both sides neere *Paris* for the same purpoze certeine dayes afore. Thus was the seege broken vp, & the Prince of *Condey* dismissed his power. Whyle ỳ Admirall was kept occupyed at that seege, his wife (of whome mention is made afore) who in the beginning of the warres had gotten hir selfe with hir children to *Orleance*, being consumed with sore sickenesse, and vnable to beare out the brunt of it, departed out of this life. The Admiral being aduertized of ỳ greeuousnesse of hir disease, had left the Camp, and was gonne too hir in poste, and taking the best phisicions to him that he could get, perfozmed the dewtie of a louing and faithfull husband towards hir. But when he sawe that the foze of hir disease ouercame ỳ cunning of the phisicions: he commended hir departing sowle vnto God, & withdrew himself into a parlour, whither a greate sort of his freends & acquayntance came to him to comfort him, of whom many remembered that he vttered these words with great sobbing & teares. Wherin haue I sinned, my God, oz wherby haue I deserued that thou shouldest chastize me so sharply, and ouerlode me with so many miseries at once? Would God I coulde leade a holyer lyfe, and giue better example of godlinesse. O holy father, let thy mercifulnes looke vppon mee, and asswage these my sozrowes. Afterward being cheered by the godly talk of his freends, he commaunded his children too

be

be brought vnto him, & told them that this so greate losse of their mother ought too bee a lesson too them, that there remayned no help for thē vnder the sonne, wherevntoo they myght trust or leane: affirming that howses and Castles, were they neuer so strong and stately, are not giuen vs for dwelling places, but lent vs for bayting places, nor tyed too vs for euer by purchace and freedeede, but graunted too vs for a tyme vppon courtesie: and finally, that all things in this world are flightfull and transitorie, sauing only Gods mercie, wherevntoo he woold haue them too commit themselues wholly, casting away all worldly helpes, and then should they not neede too dowt, but they should haue moste sure defence in the same. The next day he called Grelley his childrens schoolemaysster, and told him that he must needes returne too the Camp, and he could not tel what should becomme of him there. Wherfore he warned and desyred him, too haue a care of his childzen, and too bring them vp in religion, godlinesse, and all good artes, as he had oftentymes charged him.

As concerning his Ladie or late wyfe, shee had alwayes a singular and earnest zele too religion as is shewed afore, and was indewed with singular constancie in bearing owt all calamities, as well hir owne as hir husbandes, so that it is truly auowched of many men, that looke what promis shee made too hir husband for the professing of Religion, (as I haue shewed afore,) shee performed the same moste holily too the full. There were dyuers vertewes and

gifts of nature commendable in hir, and specially her singular louingnesse and liberalitie towards the poore, and towards sicke folkes. Therfore inasmuch as shee continewally visited the sowldyers that were browght eyther sicke or wownded too *Orleance*: the Phisicions were plainly of opinion, that hir diseaze was cawght and bred cheefly of those ill sentes and stinking sauoures.

After that the Peace was proclaymed by the sownd of Trumpets in manie places (as is sayd afore): the Admirall had scarsly taryed three dayes at home, but he was certifyed from all partes of the Realme, bothe by letters and by messengers from his freendes, that the sayd Peace was not a Peace in deede, but a practis too renewe most horrible warre. For they perceyued so greate preparation for warres in all places, that if he looked not too it betymes, bothe the Prince of *Condey*, and himselfe, and all they that had bin Capteines in ẏ late warres, should bee intrapped and abandoned too the crueltie of their enemies. The tokens wherof were theis, the bringing in of garrisons intoo *Orleans*, *Auxerre*, *Bloys*, and the other peelded Cities: the keeping of all bridges, passages, and foordes: the reteyning still of the men of armes in the hart of *Fraunce*: and the keeping still of twoo Legions neere abowte *Paris*, vnder pretence of garding the Kings persone. Upon the knowledge of theis things, he thowght it moste for his safetie too withdraw himself intoo the towne of *Tanlay* too his brother the Andelotte, and

anon

anon after to *Noyers* a towne of meetly good ſtrẽgth in the Prince of Condeyes territorie, whither he had withdrawen himſelf a little afore with his wyfe and children and his whole howſehold for the ſame cawſe. In that iourney there happened a thyng, which bycawſe of the ſtraungeneſſe therof, is not to bee ouerſlipped. Not farre from the towne of *Molins* as yee go too *Auxerre*, there is a Lake: whervntoo when the Admirall was comme, a certein olde man of his companie named Gripper, a man ſkilfull by reaſon of manye long voyages by ſea, and ſingularly faithfull and looving towardes the Admirall, eſpyed a blacke clowd driuen with the wynd beating very vehemently ageinſt that part of the Lake: whervpon he began too warne the Admirall in the heering of a greate nomber, too put ſpurres too his horſe, and too hye him apace too the next village, leaſt they myght bee ouer taken with the tempeſt at hand. As ſoone as he had ſayd ſo, thinking that the reſt had beleeued him and followed after him, he hyed him on afore. He was ſcarſly owt of ſyght, but ſuddeinly there aroſe ſuch a ſtorme as the Admirall was paſſing the narrow bankes of the Lake, that manie, not only men but alſo horſes, were throwen downe with the whirlewynd, and dyuers hurt with the violence and weyght of the Hayle, and had much adoo to ſcape with their lyues. The wynd blew the Admiralles hat from his head, which could neuer be fownd agein when the tempeſt was ceaſſed. But one of his companie deliuered him another: nether was

he (for all that) hurt in any part of him sauing in his ancle, where the vehemẽt dryuing of the hayle gaue him a good pretie pelt. Surely if the violence of the wynd had lyen ageinst the head of the lake, no dowt but that day had bin the last of the Admiralles lyfe and of all his companies. When the tempest was alayd, the Admirall hauing comforted his companie, sayd: I thanke thee O almyghtie God, whose present miracle I deeme too foretoken, that wee shall shortly bee pressed, howbeeit not oppressed with manie sorrowes.

As soone as they were comme too *Noyers*, they sent often messengers with letters too the King, informing him that they were daylye aduertized of traynes that were layd for their liues: wherfore they humbly besowght his Maiestie, too haue respect of his Countrie alredy tyred with twoo ciuill warres, and fynd meanes that the fyre which was kindled by the Gvvisians, might bee quenched, not with the destruction, but rather with the safetie of his Realme, and with his owne wisdomme. And therwithall the Admirall directed letters too Margaret the dawghter of the greate King Frauncis, and wyfe too the Duke of *Sauoy*, (whom he thought too bee of credit and authoritie too wey much with the Queene moother), beseeching hir with all maner of intreatance, too deale so by hir authoritie, as shee myght turne away the tempest that was lyke by somme fatal mischaunce too fall vpon hir afflicted and forlorne countrie.

When

When he sawe no roome left for peaceable remedyes, and vnderstoode that Tauanne (who anon after was made Marshal of *Fraunce*,) was bringing of his power priuely too *Noyers*, of purpoze too incloze him and his: he counselled the Prince of *Condey* too get them thence, and too hye them too *Rochell* as fast as they cowld: which towne by reason of certein auncient customes and priuiledges, had neuer receyued any garrison of sowldyers vntoo that day. In their way they must needes passe the Riuer of *Loyre*, and in their companie there was the Princesse of *Condey* with six yoong childzen, wherof one was not past a yeere old. After them, the next day followed the yoong childzen of the Admirall and of the *Andelotte*, whom their keepers conueyed away in the dead of the nyght by the Admiralles commaundemēt, and passing the riuer of *Loyre*, browght them too their companie in the borders of *Berrey*. And there happened a woonderfull thing, wherof innumerable witnesses and beholders remaine yit alyue. Wheras the Prince of *Condey* thowght too haue taken twoo or three boates soodeinly on the hitherside of the water, and so too haue ferryed ouer secretly: as soone as he came at the riuers side where it ronneth by the foote of the hill of *Sanxerre*, there he fownd a foorde, at the which abowt a fiftie horsmen that wayted vppon him went ouer, when in the meane whyle the Ladye his wyfe with hir childzen & hir whole Nurcerye were conueyed ouer in botes. They were no sooner all wasted ouer, but the riuer

did so ryze in three howers space, (notwithstanding that the day was most fayre and cleere): that the people of *Sanxerre* and all the dwellers therabowts, acknowledged it too bee the wonderfull prouidence of God, praying him to blisse those yoong children and babes krying in their Cradles.

The King hauing knowledge of theis things, gaue cõmaundment by the counsel of his Courtiers, that all his men of armes, specially which were in ẏ borders of *Santonge* and *Poytiers*, should owt of hand go too *Rochell*: and he sent his brother Henry (of whõ wee haue made mention afore,) too leade thither as great a power as he myght. In the meane season, the Protestants which had returned home euery man to his owne Citie & countrie, vppon the making of the peace, and vppon trust of the kings assurance: were euery where oppressed & murthered by ẏ multitude. While theis things were a dooing, Ioane Queene of *Nauarre*, who had hild hir self at home in the former warres, abhorring now the lawlesse and often renewed treacherie: rayzed such power as shee could w̃ all speede, and went too *Rochell*, carying hir sonne Henry with hir, (to whom the inheritãce of the kingdome of *Nauarre* descended after hir death), and one dawghter. When the foresaid matters were set at a stay as is sayd alredy, the Admiral toke certein peeces of ordinance out of *Rochell*, and went to beseege the towne of *Niort*, & within seawe dayes after tooke it by composition. From thence he led his armie too *Angolesme*. This towne stãdeth vpon a hygh hill, cut steepe

steepe on all sides sauing one, into the which Towne the aduersaries had conueyed a greate Garrison a seawe dayes since. The Admirall cawsed his batterie too bee layd too that side of the Towne where it myght bee cumne vntoo, and when he had assailed it certeine dayes, it was yeelded vntoo him by the townesmen.

Anon after there was a battell sowght at Iaseneul betweene the vawardes of bothe the parties. The Captein of our vaward was the Admirall, who brake in vppon his enemies with such violence, that they being vnable too abyde the brunt, sowght too saue themselues by flyght, and drewe towardes *Lusignian*, leauing all their caryages behynde them. The pray that was taken, was esteemed almoste at fiftie thowsande Crownes. The next day a letter of one of the Clerkes of the Counsell named Fizie, wrytten too the Queene Moother, was intercepted: wherin he bewayled that losse, adding also that since man was first made, neuer anie sonne of *Frãce*, (it is a vulgar phraze among the *Frenchmen*) was in so great hazard of his lyfe as he had bin. Not long after, the Admirall going too *Iarnacke* a Towne neere by, was driuen too fight whither he woold or no: and he was euen at the verye poynte too comme intoo his ennemyes handes. For his aduersaries spyes vnderstanding, that he pourpozed too passe the Riuer that ronneth by the Towne, which is not verye brode, vppon a bridge of Boates: ambushed them selues secretly on the other side of the Riuer,

and assoone as they perceyued the Admirall too bee there, byandby the Hargabuts began too discharge at him, and other some indeuered too get ouer the bryoge by force. As God woold there was one Hargabutter that stopped their brunte with his often shoting of of his peece, but yit was he strikē through with a nomber of shot, and fell downe dead. Abowt twelue other being stirred vp with his noyze, succeeded in his roome. The Admirall himself stepping too the banke, with his naked swoord, (for he had no leyzure too put on his corslet) did cutte asunder the ropes wherwith the boates were fastened, during the which tyme. his aduersaries which hild the further side of the Riuer, neuer left shooting at him, which thing cawsed him too haue a gard abowt him from that day foorth for the defence of his persone against such suddein chaunces.

A twoo dayes after, when the aduersaries had passed ouer the riuer of *Sharent*, the Prince of *Condey* for feare of being inclozed by them, althowgh he had lately hyred thre thowsand swart *Rutters*, and had moze ouer six thowsand *Swissers*, whom he had interteyned from the beginning of the warres: yit notwithstanding being a man of a noble and stowte stomacke in battell, he determined too stop them of their passage, howbeeit not too fight in pitched battell. In the meane whyle woord came too the Admirall that his men which had taken the Towne next their enemies the day before, were beset & brought too vtter perill, but yit stood manfully still too their defence.

defence. The Admiral minding not to abandon them, gathered certein horsmen quickly togither, & marched to them apace. Whom when ỹ enemies knew, they suddeinly cast themselues in a ringe, and beset him rownd abowt with greate force. Wherof the Prince of *Condey* being certified, and being much redyer in corage then fortified with strength, brake into the middleward of his enemies, and there being oppressed with multitude, had his horse striken throwgh, so that he was ouerthrowen & slayne. The Admirall being sooze greeued with the greate losse, and distrusting what might insew to the whole, retyred with his brother the Andelot into the towne of *S. Iohn d'Angeli*, And wheras the foyle that he had receyued in ỹ bodie of the Prince of *Condey*, he could haue reuenged vppon the bodies of dyuers his enemies that were of greatest power and nobilitie, and haue requyted their dishonorable dealing with like for like: yit determined he to hold himself within the bownds of nature and manhod, and to giue the dead their dewes: and in that mind did he continue as long as the warre lasted. As I told you before, Ioane Queene of *Nauarre* was the same time at *Rochell*: who hearing of the greate losse that was receyued, went with all haste into the Campe, where hauing comforted the cheef of the whole host, and incoraged the sowldiers too be myndful of their auncient prowesse, shee told them that shee gaue and deliuered vnto them hir only sonne Henry (too whom the kingdome of *Nauarre* should descend after hir decease) to

bee their Generall: protesting openly, that the life of hir only sonne was not deerer vnto hir, then the welfare of the whole armie. Henry Prince of *Condey* the sonne of the foresayd Levvis late deceased, was ioyned with him in societie of ẏ honorable charge. Neuertheless, the Lords and all the Capteines and vndercapteines betooke the charge of the warres, and the ordering of all martiall affaires to the Admirall with one consent, as to him that was knowen to be of greatest credit and authority among the protestants. For besids his singular skil in martiall affaires, and besids his iustice & his stayednes, it was wel knowen to all men, that he was the first of all the nobilitie of the Realme, which imbraced the trew religion and professed it openly, which reformed the order of his howse according to the order of religion: which durst breake with King Frauncis the second (who was hild intangled with the alyance of the howse of Gvvyse) concerning the demaunds of the Churches, & put vp supplications in their names to the Kings counsell: which gaue example of godlines to the french nobilitie, whom al men knew to haue bin most horribly infected with euill manners, by reason of ẏ wicked custome of the Kings court. And it is further knowen, that after he had once imbraced the religion, he neuer gaue any cause of offence to the reformed Churches: and that wheras men resorted vnto him on all sids, in the name of those Churches, he alwayes gaue them the wyzest counsell: and tooke weapon in hand, not to rebell ageinst the King (as sum reported of him) but

at the requeſt and intreatance of the Queene mother, which thing neuertheleſſe he did not vppon his owne head, or to ſatiſfie the Queenes mind, but (bycawſe ỳ King was not yit full twelue yeeres old,) he grounded himſelf vppon the authority of the generall counſell holden at *Orleance* (as is ſayd afore) and alſo vppon the Kings edict that was written and proclayned at *Paris* within certeine dayes after by the full conſent of all men: wheras on the contrary part it was by the Gvvyſes procurement and counſell, that ſo many honorable and worſhipful howſes were turned out of all their goods and poſſeſſions: that ſo many flouriſhing and noble Cities were ſacked: that ſo many Princes, noblemen, Capteines and Mayſters of chiualrie were ſlayne, to the exceeding greate preiudice of the whole Realme: and (which is the cheef of all other) that ſo many flouriſhing congregations were oppreſſed welneere in al the townes of *Fraunce* & finally the Realme brought to that point, that it lay open to any forrein Prince as a bootie to pray vppõ.

Theſe things were no ſooner finiſhed, but the Admiral had a ſore miſchaunce by ỳ death of his brother the Andelot, who died of a ſuddeine diſeaze in ỳ town of *Santon*, not without ſuſpicion of poyſoning: which was ſo much the more lykely, bycawſe *Birague* the Vicechauncelour (who anon after was made Chaũcelour) a man of *Piemount*, was herd to ſay oftentymes in the Court, that all theſe warres were too bee diſpatched, not by armed men, nor with ſo great ado, and with ſo great loſſes, but by cooks & ſkullions w

ſmall adoo. And forasmuchas the Admirall wrate a letter with his owne hand a feawe dayes afore to his owne ſonnes & to the Andelots ſonnes which were browght vp all vnder one Tutor, to comfort them, which letter of his written with his owne hand I haue now preſently in my keeping: I thowght it not amiſſe to tranſlate it in maner word for word, and too ſet it downe here, in this place.

Although I dowt not (quoth he) but the death of my brother Andelot was a great greef vnto you, yit notwſtanding I thowght it good to put you in mynd of your happines in that you be the Sonnes or Neuewes of ſo noble a gentleman, whom I dare auow to haue bin, both a faythfull ſeruant of God, and wor-thy of ſingular commendacion and renowme for his excellencie in martiall affayres. The remembrance and example of which vertewes owght too ſtand al-wayes before your eyes, that you may imitate them to the vttermoſt of your power. And I thinke verily, ꝑ I may well affirme this of him, that in all *Fraunce* there was not any that went beyond him in matters of warre, nother do I dowt but that forrein nations will yeeld him like record, ſpecially ſuch as haue had experiẽce of his proweſſe heeretofore. He purchaced not this ſo great eſtimation by ſloth and ydlenes, but by induring of greate peynes for his countries ſake. Surely I neuer knew man eyther iuſter towards ꝑ world, or more zealous of righteouſnes to godward. nother am I ignorant that it were not comly for mee too report theſe thinges of him among ſtraungers.

But

But I am the bolder to ſpeake them vnto you, to the intent to incoꝛage and ſharpen you too the imitating of ſo great vertewes: foꝛ I my ſelf alſo do ſet this example beſoꝛe mee to followe the ſame, praying & beſeeching our God and Loꝛd, to graunt mee to depart as godlily and bleſſedly out of this life, as I ſaw him do. And bycauſe I find myſelf to haue a great want of him: to the intent I may beare this greef of mine the moꝛe patiently, I craue of you ẏ I may ſee his vertewes reuiue & ſhine foꝛth in you. Foꝛ your better atteinement wherof, giue your ſelues with your whole hart to godlines & religion, and while you be in theſe yeeres, ſpend your time in the ſtudy of ſuch learning as may lead you into ẏ̄ way of vertew. And although I can well abide that you ſhould be from your books at ſuch howꝛes as your mayſter giues you leaue too play: yit looke to it that in your playing you nother do noꝛ ſay ought that may offend God. Specially reuerence your Schoolemaiſter, and obey him no leſſe then myſelf. Foꝛ I am ſure that he will not giue you any pꝛecept oꝛ counſell, which ſhall not bee both foꝛ your honour & pꝛofit. As concerning all other things if ye loue me, oꝛ rather if ye loue your ſelues, ſo deale as I may alwaies heare glad tydings of you: & looke as ye growe in yeeres and body, ſo growe yee alſo in godlines and vertew. God bleſſe you all, and be your defence, and vphold you euermoꝛe with his holy ſpirit. From *Sauton* the xviii. of May. 1569. *Shatilion.*

Nother was the Admirals ſtowt coꝛage in bearing out the greatneſſe of that greefe, vnknowen too

straungers. For although he had forgone such a brother as he knewe to bee peereleſſe in godlineſſe, Iuſtice, baleantneſſe, renowme of noble deedes, and cõmendacion of chiualrie, inſomuch that for his owne part he termed him his right arme: yit did he oftentimes proteſt among his freends, that he himſelf reſted vppon ẏ prouidence of God. For he both vnderſtoode and alſo was wont to ſay oftentimes, that nother the Churche of God was gwided by mãnes pollicy, nor the chriſtian army ordered by the proweſſe of ẏ Capteines. And in talking of his brothers death among his freẽds, he was wõt to cry out. O happy Andelot, which ended ẏ courſe of his life ſo godlily & luckily.

About the ſame time word was brought of the cõming of VVoolfgang Duke of *Bipount* into *Fraunce* wᵗ a mighty armie of Germanes, whome he browght to our reſkew: & how he had already paſſed the *Loyre* with his power, and had woone the towne of *Sharity*, bicauſe there was a bridge ouer the riuer in ẏ towne, into *Berrey*. When the Germanes were come to the towne of *Shalluce* in the borders of *Limoſin*: the Admirall determined to ioyne with them, the which ſelf ſame day the Duke of *Bipount* being oppreſſed with a ſore ſicknes, departed out of this life, and the cheef charge was by cõſent of al the Germanes committed to VVoolrade Earle of *Mansfeld*, who had bin his lieuetennant. The aduerſaries were greatly abaſhed at this ioyning of thẽ togither, & there was no place in all *Fraunce* where this opinion was not ſpred, that if the Germanes and Frenchmen might match togither, the Kings power was like to go to wrecke, and

the Courtiers should be glad and fayne to stoope to their aduersaries. Also such as shewed themselues desirous of peace and of publike quietnesse, did openly both in the Camp and in the Citie curse the authors of falshod: saying that it was neuer yit seene, but that the end of periurie was alwayes mischeuous. This was certeinly thought of all men, that if the Admiral ioyning his owne power with the power of the Germanes, had led them rightforth into ỹ hart of *Fraunce* towards *Paris*, many cities would haue yeelded vnto him, and haue committed themselues to his tuicion. This opinion was very greatly confirmed wiñ feaw daies after. For at such time as Henry Duke of *Aniow* being incamped neere vntoo him, had giuen him battel, he was easly driuen back, and compelled to retyre with the losse of a greate number of his footemen, & wt the taking of Mounsyre Strossie ỹ Queene moothers sisters sonne, who had the charge of them.

The Admirall hoping that vppon the matching of so great forces togither, the King considering ỹ state of things would incline his mind to sum indifferency: sent bookes of supplication vnto him (for the Duke of *Aniow* would giue him no leaue to send any messeger) wherin he praied and besought him in the name of the whole army, that he would not harden his hart any longer, but haue compassion of his afflicted and miserable subiects, and consider with how great hinderance to the Realme, the twentie thowsand forreiners or thereabowts, which were come to ỹ succor of both parts, should raũge vp & down through ỹ realm

of *Fraunce*, if the warre were prolonged any longe tyme. For the matter was nowe proceeded so farre forth, as the ciuill warres were not likely to come to end by reconcylement of mennes mynds or through the loue and compassion of their countrie, but by the wasting of ỹ Realme: & therfore it was expedient for him too spare his subiects that had indured so many discommodities & so long continewing already, & not too trust ouermuch too the Cardinalls and Italians, which bare to much sway in his court: for straungers would neuer rew ỹ miseries of frenchmen as frenchmen would. The tyme was now most conuenient too treate of peace, while eyther part stood vppon the trust of their owne strength. And the condicion of peace was very eazie, inasmuchas the whole number that were in armes with him, desired nothing but fre liberty to exercize their religiõ, which had bin graũted them so often, both by authoritie of publike counsell, and also by the Kings Edicts. Extreme was the madnes of the Italians and of a few others that were neerest abowt ỹ King, to warrant him that two hundred thowsand men of the reformed religion, might be dispatched and rid out of the way with so small a do as they made of it: wherof the successe of the former tymes might be a sufficient proof. When the Duke of *Anio w* had taken the foresayd foyle, then by the aduyce of his freends, he dismissed a greate part of his armie, and specially of his horsmen, for ỹ space of a mooneth or two, commaunding them to returne home to refresh themselues. And then VVool-

rade

rade Erle of *Mansfeeld* late leeuetennant to *VVoolfgang*, was set vp in his place with the full consent of all men.

When things were thus set at a stay, the Admirall called a counsell, wherin all men thowght it good, that forasmuch as all the Cities and Countries from the Hauen of *Rochell*, and on all the Seacoast, were in possession of the Protestantes, those quarters should be fortified, and the winning of the Towne of *Poytiers* bee attempted, that it myght bee as bulwarke too defend and mainteine that whole Countrie. This deuyce seemed too bee greatly furthered by the yeelding vp of the Castle of *Lusignian*, which is the strongest hold in all *Fraunce*, and yit notwithstanding was yeelded vppe within a feawe dayes beseeging, and so was newes browght abowt the same tyme ỳ the towne of *Chastelleraut* had done the lyke. Anon after that the seege was planted before *Poytiers*, and all things put in redinesse for the assaulting of the towne: the Admirall being ouertyred with watching and trauell, was taken with the bluddy Flix, wherwith he was so pulled downe for thirtie dayes toogither, that he could not bee present at their dooings, nor giue them counsell howe too deale. By meanes wherof the Townesmen being refreshed bothe with bittelles and with newe and fresh succours that were dayly sent in, and hartened with daily salyes, and moreouer incoraged by letters and messages from the king, bare owt the seege stowtly. But all men are certeinly perswaded, that

had not the Admirals sikneſſe hindered the matter, *Poytiers* had comme vnder his subiection.

Abowt the same season, one Dominik Albio, a *Gascon* bozne, and one of the Admirals howsehold seruaunts, which being taken by the Kings side, had taried certeine monethes in their Camp and custodie returned now home too his Maſter, and resozting boldly agein too his house, began too bee had in sulpicion at manie mennes hands, foz his fond talk & foz the vnconstancie of certeine speeches that he cast fozth, bicause he commonly agreed not with himself. By occasion wherof being appzehended & examined, he bzought fozth a box of poyson, which he confeſſed too haue bin deliuered him by one Riuers, ỹ Captein of the Duke of *Aniowes* gard, and by a certein other person which was the same Dukes secretarie, & that he was pzomized. 2000. French crownes to kill his maſter the Admirall therwith. Upon the knowledge wherof he was condemned too death, & wheras most men deemed him woozthie of greeuouser punishment, yit was he but hanged with a rope, notwithstanding that his maister sewed foz his pardon.

Befoze the Admirall was thzoughly rid of his diseaſe, when wozd was bzought him that the towne of *Chaſtelleraut* which was a. 7. miles of from the Camp, was beseeged of his enemyes: he led his power thither, beeing caryed himself in a hozselitter, and easely entering the Towne with his sowldyers, did putte his enemyes too flyght, sleaing a greate number of them, and specially of the *Italians*: and he

ceaſſed

ceaſſed not too purſew his enemyes as they fled, till they were paſt the Riuer, which for the deepeneſſe therof is in the vulgar tung called the Crewſe. In the meane whyle the yoong Duke of *Gwyſe*, which had bin Capteine of *Poytiers*, iſſewing owt of the towne with a greate companie by nyght, did ſend in other new and freſh fellowes in their ſted. And ere long after, the Duke of *Aniow* hauing repayred a greate armye, not only of *Frenchmen*, but alſo of *Almanes* and *Swiſſers*, came too *Chinon*. The armie of the Protеſtantes began too bee weerye of the long ſeege of *Poytiers*, for want of vittelles and wyne, and throwgh fowle and ſtormie wether, matched with ſikneſſe which had greatly anoyed the footemen, ſpecially of the *Germanes*. By reaſon wherof manie of the *Santones* had conueyed themſelues home too refreſh their bodies, & diuers had ſlunk away intoo the innermore part of *Fraunce*, to *Sharitie* and *Sancerre*, which were in poſſeſſion of the Protеſtants. Which whē the Admirall vnderſtood, he thought it good not to be ouerhaſtie, and therfore reſtreined the whote corage of his ſowldyers from battell. Whervppon bothe ỳ ſowldyers & the petiecapteines did caſt forth threatning ſpeeches, ſaying that they woold returne home, and ſhift for thēſelues: for it woold be more for their eaſe to make warre at home in their owne coūtryes, where they might help themſelues with their owne houſhold ſtore, than in ſtraūge places: ſpecially ſeing they had ỳ poſſeſſiō of certein townes in *Aquitane* & *Delphynoys*, & by ỳ riuer of *Loyre*, wherinto they

myght reſort, and wherowtof they myght make inuaſions, and eaſly waſte the feelds of their enemyes. Not vnlike theis were the ſpeeches of the *Almane* ſowldyers, who hauing forborne their wages now certein moonethes, kryed owt that the matter was too bee committed too the ſwoord, rather than too lye lingering ſo long from their owne countries and dwelling places. And it was almoſt comme too the poynt, that certein noblemē of great authoritie were abowt too haue forſaken the Camp, and too haue led a great part of the armie away with them.

When it was once determined too put the matter too the ſwoord, and that bothe the armyes drew neere too *Mongontur* to incamp there: the Capteins of the armie of our aduerſaries, did ſoodeinly ſet vpon our lyght horſmen that were the foreriders, and vppon certein bands of our foreward, whereof the Admirall had the charge. The Admirall hauing ſowght a good while for his harnes bearer, and finding him not, did at length neuertheleſſe aduenture into the thickeſt of his enemies. After him followed the foremencioned VVoolrade Erle of *Mansfeeld*, who compelled the battell of the enemies too forſake their grownd. Heere ran a riuer which the aduerſaries labored by all meanes too paſſe. The Admirall being garded with certein Hargabuts, marched ſumwhat before the foreward, and ſtayed at the bank of the brooke, and ſtopped the enemies of their paſſage, prouiding there for all things neceſſarie vntill the ſhetting in of the Euening, when as not-

withſtan-

withstanding, his enemies neuer left beating of that place of all the while, bothe with greate Ordinance and with small shot. And surely if they myght haue passed the Riuer at that time, and haue broken in vpon our armye, it had bin horrible too think what a slawghter they had made of our men. For they were mo in nomber than our hoste by a third part. Besides this, they were fresh and lusty, and our men faint and weerie at the ioyning of the battell: and therfore it was but twoo dayes respit. For the third day when it came too hand strokes, the most part of our footemen went too wrecke, and our horsmen were put too flyght. The Admirall giuing charge vppon six hundred *Almanes*, with twoo hundred *French* horsmen, was shot at with thicke shot of pistolets, and wounded on the right side of his nozethrilles: insomuch that hauing his Beuer beaten too his face, and being not able too spit owt the blud that issewed from his wound, and moreouer hauing his swoord striken from him, and his swoord girdle broken of with the continuewance of the Pistolet shot, and almost all the lethers of his corslet burnt asundre with the heate of the pellets that lyghted vppon his armour, so as his brestplate hung but by the vppermoste thonges: he was at length conueyed owt of the battel by the help and faythfull seruis of one Ploriner, a yoongman of *Normandie*, whom he had browght vp of a chyld in his howse, and after the ouerthrow of his hoste, was conueyed by his freendes too *Parthenay*. Here a man may well woonder at the constancie and greatuesse

of his coꝛage. Foꝛ wheras vppon the receyuing of this so greate losse, most men did cast away bothe corage and hope: he tooke vppon him too comfoꝛt and harten euery man, and calling all his secretaries and clerkes vntoo him, sent letters abꝛode into all partes of *Fraunce*, least the Pꝛotestantes that were vp in armes in other places, should faint, oꝛ think the losse too bee so greate, as myght not bee recouered within feawe dayes space.

The next moꝛning he tooke his way too *Niort*, and when he had set things in oꝛder there, he went thence too *Santon*, and abode there but seuen dayes foꝛ the curing of his wownd, which could not be healed thꝛoughly in lesse than. 25. dayes. While the Admirall was thus greeued with ẏ burthens of his foꝛmer trauels, and with great heauinesse and distresse: newes was bꝛowght him, that he was atteynted of high treason by act of parlament, made at *Paris* the 13. day of September. 1569, and that whosoeuer could bꝛing him aliue too the king, should haue fiftie thowsand Crownes in reward foꝛ his labour. Welneere at the same time it was told him, that one Martinengo an *Italian*, condemned of Treason in his owne countrie, was sent with certein antsignes by the king to Shattilion, and that when he came there, he not only ransacked the Castle, and spoyled & caried away the costly plate and houshold stuffe that had bin layd vp there of manie ages as an oꝛdinarie furniture of the howse, too the valew of a hundꝛed thousande Crownes at the leaste: but also did so burne vp

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the Towne that standeth vnder the Castle, as there scarcely remained anie incling of a Towne. At the receyt of which newes, the Admirall was so farre of from conceiuing anie greater greefe of mynd that coulde appall him in going forward with his assayres: that there appeered not so much as anie alteration at all in his countenance: insomuche that when his freendes and kinsfolk resorted too him too comfort him, he was woont too say stowtly vntoo them, that God of his singular goodnesse had giuen him such a mind at the present, as could possesse the things that are termed goods, and not be possessed of them, so as his goods were alwaies subiect to him, & not he to his goods. And therfore in al ỹ ciuil warres wheras for the most part all the princes, noble men, gentlemen, men of armes & footemen mainteined thẽ selues by ỹ warres, & liued vpon the pray frõ hand to mouth when ỹ king had seized their possessiõs: Only the Admiral & a few other payed their hostes & vittelers alwayes redy monny for themselues and their retinewes: by reason wherof he had not only brought himselfe farre in dette by borrowing vppon interest: but also had layd a great part of his wyues apparell, Jewelles, and ornaments too gage, and continewed that trade so long, vntil that being in maner left destitute of all howsehold helpes, (which happened almoste abowt the end of the third ciuill warre) he sewed in an assembly of the states, too haue some releef graunted too him also, for the mayntenance of his howshold charges.

Abowt the same tyme the Admirall wrate a letter with his owne hand, too his owne sonnes, and too his brother the Andelots sonnes, which were browght vp all toogither vnder one Schoolemaister at *Rochell*, as is shewed afore. Which copie and handwryting of his I hauing gotten, thowght it woorthie too bee translated in maner woord for woord, and too be put intoo this place. It had (*quoth* he) bin moste too my contentation, too haue spoken theis things vntoo yow presently, and to haue seene yow and talked with yow. But forasmuch as I am not able now so to doo: I thowght it good too warne yow too haue godlinesse and the feare of God continewally before your eyes, specially sith tryall and experience may now teache yow, that there is no greate trust too be giuen to the things that are termed goodes. Our hope must bee settled in another place than in this earth, and other Artes are too bee gotten than those which are seene with eyes, and handled with hands. Howbeeit, forasmuch as that lyeth not in our owne power, wee must humbly craue help at Gods hand, too bring vs intoo the surest and safest way: and yow must not looke that that way shalbee pleasant and delyghtfull, and flowing with all prosperitie. Wee must followe Jesus Chryst which is gone afore vs, and is our Captein and stāderdbearer. Men in deede haue taken from vs what they cowld. If God continew alwayes in the same will, happie shall wee bee, and well shall it bee with vs. For their woorking of this displeasure vntoo you, is not for anie wrong or harme

harme that you haue done them, but only for hatred of me, wherof I am sure there is none other cawse, but that God voutsaketh to vse my labour and seruis in susteyning his Churche. Therefore if we suffer harme and losse in that behalf, blessed are we: and we shall haue such a reward, as no man can haue power ouer it. I haue many other things whereof I would write vnto you if I had leyzure. At this tyme it shall suffize me to warne you, and to beseeche you in Gods name, to proceede lustily in the study of vertew, and to shewe both in your doings and sayings, and in all your whole life, how much you abhorre all kind of vices. Obey your Schoolemayster and all others that are set ouer you: for if I may not inioy your presence & sight so often as I would, I may at leastwise often vnderstand that you be adorned with good and honest condicions. The last shalbe this, that if God wil haue vs to suffer any inconuenience for his religion, eyther in our bodies or in our goods, yit we count our selues happie and blessed. Hezely I pray and beseeche him to maynteyne you and to further you, and to defend your youth. Fare ye well. From the towne of *Santon* the xvi. of October. 1569. *Shatilion.*

When the Lords had sit oft tymes in counsel in the same towne of *Santon* concerning their state: at length it seemed good by generall consent, to set sum staye among the Townesmen, and to leaue certeine antsignes of footemen in garrison for defence of the towne, and to go their way, with their lighthorsmen into the borders of *Tolowse* where *Monntalbane*, a

towne very strong both by nature & by hand of man, was in possession of the protestants, who had gathered no small somme of money wherwith too pay the Almanes their wages. And besids that, they hoped that if they were once past the twoo riuers of *Gerownd* and *Lotte*, they should ioyne with the power wherof the Countie Mountgomrye, a man of greate authoritie for his knightly prowesse and skil in martiall affayres, was Capteine, and by whose seruis he had pacyfied *Bierne*, a territorie of the King of *Nauarres*. In this iourney, which was verye peynfull by reason of the vneeuennesse of the wayes: although that all the Cities were manned with garrisons, and had cut asunder the bridges, and drawen the ferryboats all to the other sides: yit was there none so bold as too assayle our soldyers weeryed with the tediowsinesse of the wayes, and (for the most part) vnarmed, or too stoppe them as they passed the ryuers and brookes on bridges made of barges and boates. Therefore after a long and weerisomme iourney, they came at length too *Mountalbane*: owt of the which towne, the Admiral sent messengers to the King and the Queene moother, with charge to make earnest and humble sute in the behalfe of all them that were in armes with him, that they should not suffer so manie valeant men too murther one another, as were nowe readye in bothe the hosts too giue battell, but of their clemencie make an ende of those so greate myseryes and inconueniences. For it

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was but the counſell of certeine Byſſhops and Cardinalls which neuer came intoo the feelde themſelues, and of a ſoꝛt of Italians which had no remoꝛs of Frenchmennes myſerȳes: Neuertheleſſe it was a poynt of ſtarke madneſſe foꝛ them too thinke, that twoo hundꝛed thowſand Pꝛoteſtants, ſpecially hauing ſo greate a number of noblemen and Gentlemen among them, could bee intrapped and rid quite and cleane away withowt towche of bꝛeſt: Nay verely, beſides that, there were a greate number euen of the Catholiks themſelues, which ſhoulde not ſcape without taſting of the comon myſerȳes: inſomuch that ſomme ſhould periſh by the ſwoꝛd, and otherſomme thꝛowgh the ouergreatneſſe and weerifomneſſe of trauell and peyneſtaking, and the moꝛe part be ſure to ſuſteyne greate loſſe and hinderance in their goods and poſſeſſions. Ageinit was not beſeeming the Maieſtie of a King, that (as the Courtyers did comonly repoꝛt of him,) he ſhoulde not ſpare his owne people ſo he might oppꝛeſſe his aduerſarȳes: foꝛ it is the ſpeeche of a Tyꝛant and not of a King, too ſay, Let freends periſh, ſo enemyes maye goo too wꝛecke with them. As foꝛ peace, the condicion was eazie, namely that the authoꝛitie of the publike Counſell which was hild at *Orleance*, and of the Edict made at *Paris*, doo take place, ſo as men might haue libertie to exercyze the purer Religion in ſomme certeine places.

Uppoꝛ the ſending of this meſſage, conſultati-

on was had there how to passe the riuer of *Gerownd*, which was betweene *Mountgomries* hoste and ours, and seemed verye hard to bee passed by reason of the depth, bredth and swiftnesse of the streame. Therefore the Admirall gaue counsell to take the towne of *Mariane* standing vppon ẏ same riuers side. Which being done, forasmuchas the Countie Mountgomrye possessed the other side, the Admirall deuyzed to make a bridge in this wyze. First heauing out fourteene pyles of timber, of fowerandtwentie foote long a peece, sharpened at the one end and armed with yron, he draue them with rammers into the chanell of the riuer, setting fowerteene mo full ageinst them in the vpper part of the streame. Then vppon euery cupple that stoode one ageinst another, he layed a beame well fastened with mortises and braces, and likewize sidebeames from payre to payre, which he couered ouer w̄ planks to go vppon. On eyther bank was made a litle bridge vppon twoo wheeles, to conuey horses the easlier both of & on to the great bridge. And to strengthen the worke with all, he fastened either rowe of the pyles with cables and cheynes tyed to posts driuen into the grownd on eyther side of the riuer. When the worke was finished, and two dayes spent in passing ouer of ẏ Almane horsmen: a shippe of great burthen comming downe the streame in the deade of the night, dashed ful ageinst the bridge with such violence, that it shooke the whole work & made it fall asunder. This shippe our men tooke and hild al that side of the riuer, howbeeit for want of good loo-

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king to, bycawse they tyed it not with cables ynow, it was caryed away with the violence and swiftnesse of the streame. Therfore it seemed best to make passage for Mountgomrye with certein bots and wherryes fastened togither, whom the *Almane* horsmen which clozed vp his rereward followed immediatly.

When the Admirall had giuen his sowldiers a feawe dayes respit to refresh themselues, he led them to the Citie of *Tholowse*, and tooke manie of the small townes abowt it, whereof somme yeelded themselues to his tuicion and freendship, and somme were woone by force, and yit had he but twoo battering peeces in his hoste, which he had browgt with him from *Mountalbane*. When he had set those townes at somme stay, he determined to take his iourney to *Viuaret* and to the riuers side of *Rhone*. And bycawse many had put on armour in *Delphinoys* that fauored his side, and hild certein townes there, he sent part of his armie ouer thither, to attemp the wynning of mo Cities if he could. The performance of which charge was committed to Levvis of *Nassawe* (of whom I haue made mention before) who passing ouer on a bridge of boats, did strike such a feare into the rest of the people of *Delphinoys*, that they fled all of them intoo the townes. Howbeeit forasmuchas he had no battering peeces, he thought it was not for him to tarrye there any longer, but that he had done ynowgh for the commendacion of his owne valeantnes, and therfore when he had wasted their feelds, he browght backe his armie agein

safe to the Admirall within feawe dayes after: which exployt of his purchaced him greate prayse, as well among the Frenchmen as among the Almanes, both for the nobleneſſe of his corage, and for his ſkill in behauing him ſelf.

Anon after, the Admirall being appalled with ouergreate labour, care, and watching, fell ſicke, wherwith although he were ſore cumbered, yit notwithſtanding forasmuchas he thought it beſt to come to the riuer of *Loyre* with as much ſpeede as might bee, he determyned to tarry long in no place, but cawſed himſelf too bee conueyed with his armye in a horſlitter. For a two thowſand men were aſſembled abowt *Sharitie* and *Sanxerre*, whom he thowght greatly for his aduantage too bee ioyned with him: and that ſo much the rather, bycawſe Mounſyre Coſſey the Marſhall of *Fraunce*, whom the King had ſet in the roome of the Duke of *Aniow* after the victorie at *Santone*, was reported too bee comming towards him with all the Kings power. To whom the Admirall ſent wood by a Herault of his that was come intoo his Camp for the raunſoming of priſoners, that Mounſyre Coſſey ſhould not neede too take ſo much peynes too come vntoo him, for he would viſit him with as much ſpeede as he could, and eaſe him of the trauell of that iourney. When the armye was come too the Foreſt, behold there came Commiſſioners ageine from the King too treate of compoſition and peace. For when the Courtyers heard that the Admirall (who a litle afore

afore ſeemed too bee forlorne and paſt hope of recouerie) had gathered ſo greate a power ageine and renewed his armye: they were ſtriken in great feare, leaſt the Admirall ioyning with the power of *Sharitie*, ſhoulde come ryghtforth too *Paris*, and ſet fyre vppon the goodly howſes and pleaſant manours of the Burgeſſes of *Paris*, and of the Courtyers neere abowt the Citie, after which maner they had heard that he had plaged the Burgeſſes of *Tholowſe*. When the Admirall had gone part of his iourney by horſlitter (as I ſayd before) his diſeaze began to growe ſorer vppon him, and the phiſicions letted not to ſay, that he could not long indure the force of it, ſpecially being ouerloden with ſo manie cares. And therfore the talke of the Commiſſioners was broken of, & the treatie of peace was let alone for a time, which intermiſſion when certein noblemen of great authority among the proteſtants, tooke in diſpleazure bicauſe of the prolonging of the warres, & made complaint to ẏ Commiſſioners that it was not meete ẏ ẏ cõmunication of peace ſhould be broken of for ẏ ſicknes of the Admirall being but one man, for though he happened to die, he ſhould leaue a great ſort alyue behynd him, with whom they might treat of compoſition: the Commiſſioners made them anſwere, that they woondered very much to ſee, that they percepued not of what eſtimation the authoritie of their Admirall was: for if he ſhould dye to day (quoth they,) tomorrowe wee would not offer you a cuppe of water, as who ſhould ſay, yee knewe

not that the only name of the Admiral is moze wozth among you, than such another armie as greate as this. Within feawe dayes after, when the Admirall was sommewhat cheered, and strengthened, they fell to consulting agein of peace, and certeine were chozen too go with the Kings Commissioners, and to carye these Instructions with them. That nothing was moze wished of the pzotestants than peace, noz nothing greeued them wozse than warre: but yit ther was not any of them, which minded not to aduenture much greeuowser peynes, yea and death it self, rather than to forsake Gods Religion which they had pzofessed. Wherfoze if the king woold graunt them libertie too vse the pure religion, as he had doone in fozmer yeeres, and pziuiledge certeine townes foz the same: there was none of them all but he woold most willingly and gladly lay away weapõ foz euer. The Admirall hauing giuen theis instructions too the Commissioners, dislodged his Campe, and ere long after tooke ẏ Towne of *Reneleduc* in his way, whither certein of the foreryders of Mounsyze Cossеyes hoste were come. And from thencefozth there scaped not almost any day without somme skirmish: and one day the hartes of all the sowldyers were so inflamed too battell, that a little moze woold haue made the matter too haue coome too a pitched feeld, bycawse that wheras there was but a Bzooke betweene bothe the hostes, Mountgomrey breaking the aray of the aduersaries Vaward (wherof one Mounsyze Valet a *Gascon*, a man of greate estimati-

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on in his Countrie had the leading) did put them too flyght.

Within feawe dayes after, the king sent Commissioners agein too the Camp, too ask trewce, but so long till the things concerning the composition myght bee dispatched. For the Burgesses of *Paris* (who were of verie great estimation with the king) were sore afraid of the wastings and burnings that were threatened them: nother is there any kynd of people in all *Fraunce*, that is more feerce in prouoking warre when it is farre of from their doores, nor more cowardly in accepting any conditions of peace whan warre commes home to them. When the Cõmissioners had gone too and fro on both sides a good sort of tymes, at length an Edict was browght from the King, wherby he gaue men leaue to exercyze and maynteine the Religion in certeine places, and for the assuring therof, gaue thẽ fower cities in pledge, namely *Rochell*, *Mountalbane*, *Conyak*, and *Sharitie*.

When this peace (which is reckened as the third) was made, and the Kings Edict proclaymed ouer all *Fraunce*: the Admirall hauing first conueyed home the *Almane* horsmen to the borders of *Germanie*, browght backe the twoo yong Princes (of *Nauarre* and *Condey*) too *Roehell* too the Queene of *Nauarre*, determyning too abyde there, vntill he might perceiue that the peace was throwghly setled euerywhere. Within feawe moonethes, trusting too the Kings promises, and too the othes both of the King himself, and of his brethrẽ, and of all the Par-

lamentes, forasmuche as he hoped that after the owtwearing of so manie toyles, he should now gette some rest, he inclined his mind too mariage agein, at the perswasion of his freends, and specially being inuited by the kinsfolk of the Lady Iaquet of *Moulet*, the widow of the Lord Antonie Moulet, & daughter of the Countie *Entremont*, of whose modestie, godlinesse, and holie cõuersation he had herd much a good while ago. Therfore being honorably browght vnto him too *Rochell*, he tooke hir too his wife. And within a while after, he gaue a dawghter of his named Loyse, in mariage too Mounsyre Telignie, a yoong Gentleman of great Nobilitie and singular vertew. No gentleman in all *Fraunce* seemed more dere and delightfull too the king, than this Telignie was, for his singular towardnesse. And therfore it is the comon brute among all men, that this mannes report was the only thing that perswaded the Admirall, too conceiue good opinion of the kings faithfulnesse and fauour towardes him.

Anon after, in the yeere of our Lord. 1571, the Admirall being inuited by moste gentle and honorable letters of the kings, repaired too the Court then lying at *Bloys*, and was requested too bee the maker of the mariage betweene the kings sister, and Henry the yoong king of *Nauarre*: [for the better bringing wherof too passe] the King had declared by his messengers and commissioners, that there could not bee deuized a more sure bond too link toogither the publik peace and concord, nor a certeiner meanes too

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bring all the states too an attonement. Within a feawe dayes after the Admiralles departure, the yoong Duke of *Guyse* being perswaded by the counsell of the Cardinall his vncle, and by his moothers inticement, began too renew the old quarell of hys fathers murther. The King therfore vsing his authoritie in the matter, did set downe a forme of composition, which he determined too haue them bothe sworne vntoo, and too confirme it with their seales, so as all remembrance of ẏ dissension should bee vterly wiped away. Notwithstanding, when as the Duke of *Guyse* came too *Paris* within a feawe dayes after with a greate traine of armed men, and the Admirall (who was then gone home too *Shattilion,*) being certified therof by Telignie his sonne in lawe, requested the king too giue him leaue to keepe somme conuenient garde about him in his house: the King wrate to him with his owne hand, (which letter was deliuered too Mounsyre Brikmavy, a man of greate estimation, too cary vnto him) that he liked very well that he should take as good heede too himself as he could, giuing him leaue too gard himself & his castle with as great a cõpanie as he listed: and he required him too trust too his good will towards him, and not too dowt but that he should bothe hope for and looke for as much maintenance at his hand, as any good subiect might looke for at a good pyncis hand. This letter indited with manie woordes too that purpose, many men red with greate pleasure, bycawse it was wrytten with the Kings owne hand: and now they

thowght that his good will towardes the Admirall was not too bee dowted of anie moze. In respect wherof, Levvis of *Nassaw*, of whom I haue made mention afoze, thinking that it was not foz him too let slip this occasion of speeding his owne affaires, began to breake with the king (who had inuited him secretly too the Court) on the behalf of his brother the Prince of *Orendge*, and told him how there were manie Cities in Lowe *Duchland*, which were so werye of the madnesse, lecherie, couetousnesse and crueltie of the *Spanyardes*, that if he woold reache them his helping hand, they woold willingly and gladly submit themselues too his tuicion and iurisdiction. When certein dayes had bin spent abowt this matter, at length the king made the Countie of *Nassawe* faithfull promis, that he woold send the Admiral thither owt of hand with a great power: and it was couenanted betwixt them, that if that warre had good successe, then the King should haue all the Lowe Countrie from *Antwarp* too *Picardie*: and *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Fryzeland* should bee left too the Prince of *Orendge*.

Abowt the same time were letters intercepted from Cardinall *Perlewe* too the Cardinall of *Lorreine*: the conteintes wherof were, that the king was neuer in better mynd, and therfoze he was in verye good hope of the prosperous successe of their comon conceites, by reason of the singular earnestnesse of the king himself, and of the Queene Moother, and of Henry the Duke of *Aniow*. Foz the king had behaued

ued himself much more wysely, and played his part farre more cunningly at the Admiralles comming too the Court, than anie of them had looked for: by meanes wherof the king had made the Admirall beleeue, that there was no occasion left why he should suspect him, or think amisse of his good wil towards him, which thing the Cardinal of *Lorrein* knew wel ynowgh too bee the growndwoork of all the deuyce which they had in hand. And wheras communication was ministered of making warre vppon the king of *Spayne*, and the king had accepted the same with so free a corage, as the Admirall conceiued verye good opinion of his good will towardes him: those shiftes were too bee pursewed, till their secret practyze might take his expected euent. As for the king of *Spayne*, he was diligently informed of all things, and such meanes vsed, as he should not mislyke of the preparature of warre that was pretended too outward showe, bycawse all those things were applyed too the accomplishing of a singular good purpose. Therfore whatsoeuer the Cardinall had herd too haue bin doone afore, or should heere herafter: let him assure himself that the king wold not start from the thing that he had once begonne. For whatsoeuer was doone or too bee doone, was directed and applied too the end of their determined purpose: and there was not anie thing wherof the king, and his mother, and his brother had so great a care. Wherfore as soone as the matter were dispatched, he would wryte too the Cardinall of *Lorrein* with all speede, & sem

him a ſure and faithfull meſſenger for the nonce. As towching the king of *Nauarres* mariage, he hoped it woold bee brought of a hand within a little while. For that muſt ſette their matters abroche. In the which meane ſeaſon, the time that was appoynted for the laying of the fower townes too pledge woold bee ronne owt.

He that ſent the Admirall the copie of this letter, hoped that the reading therof woold forewarne him too take heede too himſelf, and too lay for ẏ ſafetie of his ſtate. But he truſted ſo much too the kings faithfulneſſe and great good wil towards him, (ſpecially bycawſe it was confirmed by the continewall perſwaſions of his ſonnylawe Telignie) that whereas in all other things he ſeemed moſt ſharpwitted, and of very greate foreſight, in this one cace he was by a kynd of deſtinie ſtark blynd. Howbeeit foraſmuch as there is a treatiſe ſet foorth alredy, intitled the declaration of the Helliſh ſlawghter, conteyning the diſcourſe of the whole matter, with the tragicall iſſew therof, and the celebrating of the king of *Nauarres* mariage with all maner of pomp and royaltie of ſhowes: I will as now ſet downe no more but the things that concerne the laſt time of the Admiralles life, wherof I haue gotten moſt certein teſtimonies. Notwithſtanding, I will firſt ſet downe a copie of a letter which he wrate the ſelf ſame day with his own hand from *Paris*, too his wife then great with chyld. For ſeing I had the originall copie in my hãd, which ſeemed to cary greate weyght with it for the ſetting

foorth

footh of the truth of the ſtorie: I thowght it was not to be let paſſe in this place. And therfore I haue trãſlated it thus, in maner woord for woord. Greeting. This day (my right deer beloued wife) is the mariage of the kings ſiſter, & of the king of *Nauarre* celebrated. Theis next .3. dayes wilbe ſpẽt in playes, bãkettings, maſks & triũphs. The king hath promiſed me faithfulli, ẏ afterward he wil beſtow ſome time in heering the cõplaints ẏ are brought to him from ſundry partes of his realme for violating of his edict of peace. In which matter it is good right that I ſhould imploy myſelf to the vttermoſt of my power. For although I haue great deſire to ſee thee, yit wold it be a greef both to me, & thee alſo (as I think) if my indeuer & duetie ſhould want in the furtherance of that matter. Neuertheles, this let wil not ſtay my departure out of the Citie ſo long, but ẏ I may come away the next weeke. If I had no further reſpect thã of my ſelf, it were more pleaſure for mee too bee with thee, thã to tary any lõger in this Court, for cauſes which thou ſhalt know of mee when I comme home. But I muſt haue more regard of the comon weale, than of priuate loue or cõmoditie. I haue diuers other thigs too impart too thee, as ſoone as I may conueniently talke with thee, wherof I aſſure thee I am deſirous night and day. But all that I can tell thee of as now, is this. It was this day paſt fower of the clocke in the afternoone, ere the mariage maſſe was celebrated. Whyle that was a ſinging, the king of *Nauarre* walked vp and downe with certein noblemen of our

Religion which followed him, in a certein yard with owt the Churche. There are a nomber of smaller things, which I will deferre till wee may talk toogither. In the meane while I beseeche God too preserue thee my deerbeloued and moste louing wife. At *Paris* the. 18. of August. 1572. A three dayes ago I was diseased with the cholik and the stone. But (as God woold) it lasted not past a. 9. or. 10. howres: and as now (such is Gods goodnesse) I am free from all such peynes. I promis thee I will trubble none of them in the thronges of their feastes & playes. Once agein Farewell. The subscription of the letter was this: Thy louing husband, Shattilion.

The. 5. day after the Date of this letter, which was the. 22. day of August, as the Admirall went homeward frō the kings counsel abowt dinner time, and passed by the house of Villemure a canon, scholemaister too the yoong Duke of *Guyse*, he was striken with a hargabus shot owt of a Lattis windowe, and wownded in three places. For the forefinger of his ryght hand was broken in peeces, and hys left arme shot throwgh with two pellets of brasse: which thing the forementioned storie of the hellish slawghter hathe breefly towched. Herbypon the Phisicions and Surgions were sent for owt of hand, among whom was Ambrose Parey the Kings Surgion, which was takent too haue greate skill in Leachecraft. He that was witnesse of the things insewing, did bothe see them and also hold by the Admiralles arme as he lay bppon his bed. The sayd Ambrose began

began his cure at the wounded finger, and did cut it of not without putting his patient to great peyne. For inasmuchas his pinsons were not sharp ynowgh, he was fayne to open them thryce, and thryce to grype them ageine togither. Afterward he launced bothe the sids of his left arme where the pellets had perced through: the peyne wherof the Admirall abode, not only with a stowt corage, but also with a stedfast coũtenãce. Yea and wheras they that hild vp his armes and behild those launcings were not able to forbeare weeping: the Admirall perceyuing them too bee dismayd, sayd vnto them. Why weepe yee my freends? I thinke my self blissed in suffering these wounds for Gods name sake. And therwall looking vppon Merline a minister of Gods word, my freends (quoth he) these are Gods benefits. In deede I am full of peine: but I acknowledge this to bee the will of our Lord God, and I think his maiestie that he hath voutsafed me so greate honour, as to lay somme crosse vppon mee for his moste holie names sake. Therfore let vs pray him too graunt mee the gyft of perseuerance. Then beholding Merlyne mourning and lamenting. Why Merlyne (quoth he) why dost thou not rather comfort mee? Yee say truth sir (answered Merlyne) nother is there any greater or surer comfort for you, than to thinke continually that God doth you greate honour, in deeming you worthye to suffer these greefes for his name and religions sake. Why Merlyne (replyed the Admirall) if God should handle mee according to my deserts and woorthynesse, and

deale with mee according too his iustice: I shoulde haue farre other maner of greefes too indure. But blessed bee his Name for vsing his mercie and clemencie towards mee his moste vnwoorthie seruant. O Sir (quoth another) hold yee still in that godlye mynd. For you haue cawse too giue greate thankes too him for his goodnesse, in that he hathe left you the moste part of your bodie whole and sownde. Therefore you haue in these wowndes a greater warrant of Gods mercye, than token of his wrath: specially sith he hath lefte you your head and mynde vnwounded. Then answered Merlyne, You do verye well too turne awaye your mynde and concept from your strykers, and from them that gaue you these wowndes, vntoo God alone. For surely it was his hand that layd these strokes vppon you, and it is no tyme for you too thinke now vppon the cutthrots and murtherers. As for mee (quoth the Admirall) vndowtedly I forgiue freely and with all my hart both him that strake me, and them that did set the striker to do it. For I am sure it is not in their power too do mee anye harme, no not euen thowgh they shoulde kill mee: for I am out of all dowt, that deathe is too mee a passage vntoo lyfe, which saying he repeted ageine anon after too the Marshal *Mounsyre* Damuyle, who came too him too visit him, in the heering of *Merlyne*, who escaped the slawghter and is yit still alyue. And when the same Merlyne told him that the calamities and myseryes which happen too godly men in this lyfe, do comonly

ly stirre them vp to pray vnto God the more earnestly, and quicken them vp to reuerence Gods power: byandby the Admiral did burst out into these wordes with a lowd voyce and vehement corage, saying: Lord God, heauenly father, pitie me of thy mercie and clemencie, and remember not the wickednesse of my former life. If thou looke vppon our faults, and vppon our lightnesse and vnfaythfulnes in breaking of thy Lawes, Lord who shall abide it? who shalbe able to indure the force of thy wrath? Setting aside all fabulous Gods, I call vppon thee alone, acknowledging and worshipping thee the etetnall father of the eternall God Iesus Christ, Throwgh him I beseech thee to graunt mee thy holy spirit, and the gift of pacience. In thine only mercy do I trust. In that only is my whole hope repozed. Whither it be thy will to giue me present death, or to prolong my life yit longer, behold, I protest my self to bee readie vnto bothe: nothing dowting but that if I must die out of hand, thou wilt take mee out of hand intoo thy blessed and heauenly rest. And if thow suffer mee too continewe longer in this life, graunte mee O heauenly Father, that I maye spende the reste of my time, all wholly in spreading abrode the glorie of thy name, and in the reuerencing and obseruing of thy most holy religiõ. When he had ended this prayer, Merlyne asked of him neuertheless, whyther it could like him that his Seruants should also ioyne their prayers with his. To whom the Admirall answered, with all my hart, and you Mayster

Merlyne ſpeake on in the behalfe of this our congregation. While Merlyne was vttering a prayer applied to the preſent cace, the Admiral lifting vp his eies to heauen, ſhewed a wonderfull earneſtneſſe of mynd in praying. After the end of the prayer, when Merline alledged the examples of the auncient Martyrs, and told how that euen from Abraham and Adam, no man had euer imployed his ſeruis notably to God & his Churche, but he was afflicted with many inconueniences: the Admirall interrupting his ſpeeche, ſayd he felt himſelfe greatly confirmed by his talke, and tooke greate comfort by his reherſall of thoſe Martyres and godly fathers, and that his greef was much aſſwaged by it.

Soone after, Mounſyre Coſſey & Mounſyre Damuyle the Marſhalls of *Fraunce* came vnto him, aſſuring him ẏ they were very ſorie for his miſchaunce, and that there had not happened any thing to them a good whyle, that was a greater greef and corrie too them: neuertheleſſe it was meete and agreeable too the wonted corage of his mind, that he ſhould plucke vp his hart & ſhew himſelf a man: for his owne prowеſſe had giuen him much more, than ẏ miſhapp could take away. Then the Admirall turning to Coſſey, ſaid: You remember what I told you a while ago: vndowtedly you muſt abide as much your ſelfe. Then ſaid the Damuyle, my Lord Admiral, I wil not take vppon me either to comfort you or to incorage you to valeantnes and conſtancie of mind. You your ſelf are he from whom ſuch precepts of comfort and corage-

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owlneſſe are to bee taken. But I pray you ſee wherin my ſeruis may pleaſure you. I maruell whence theſe things come. The Admirall anſwered: other than the Duke of Gvvyſe, I ſuſpect none: and yit I dare not affirme that for a certeintie. Notwithſtanding, Gods goodneſſe hath lately tawght mee, to feare nother myne enemyes nor yit death, which I knowe to be vtterly vnable to hurt me, & rather to be a bleſſed and euerlaſting reſt. For I know that God in whom alone I put my truſt, is nother deceytfull nor vntrew: howbeeit that in this my misfortune, nothing hath happened more to my greef, than that I ſee my ſelfe bereft of libertie, to ſhewe to the King how much I was mynded to haue doone for his ſake: (his ſaying ſo, was in reſpect of the matter concerning *Flaunders.*) Would God I myght talke a litle w̄ him, for I haue certein things which it ſtandeth him greatly on hand to know, and I think there is not any man that dareth report them vntoo him.

In the meane ſeaſon the King of *Nauarre* and the Prince of *Condey*, complayned to the King of the heynowſeneſſe of the fact. To whom the King anſwered thus: I ſweare by God whom I take too witneſſe, that I will reuenge this fact ſo ſeuerely, as it may bee an example too all that ſhall come after. The woman that was fownd in the howſe (wherowtof the Hargabut was ſhot at the Admirall,) and a boy of hirs were taken and caſt in prizon. Abowt twoo of the clocke in the afternoone,

the King being certified of the Admiralls desyre, went vntoo him, accompanyed with the Queene moother, the Kings twoo brothers, the Duke Mounpauncer, the Cardinall of *Burbon*, Mounsyre Damuyle, Mounsyre Tauanne, and Mounsyre Cossey Marshalls of *Fraunce*, ỳ Countie of *Rhets*, *Moū*-syre Torrey and Mounsyre Meruey ỳ Damuyles brothers, after whom followed Gonzaga Duke of *Niuers*. At the first the King commaunded all that were of the Admirals howshold to be shet out of the chamber, sauing Mounsyre Telignie and his wife, and one persone that scaped alyue from the slawghter, who marked aduysedly what was doone and sayd at that time. When the king was come to the bedds side, I thanke your maiestie most humbly (quoth the Admiral) that you haue vowtsafed me so great honour, and taken so great peines for my sake. The King pretending gladnes for ỳ great corage of his mynd, willed him wᵭ very faire words to hope well, & to be of good confort. Sir (quoth ỳ Admiral) ther are three things wherof I was desirous to talk wᵭ your maiestie. The first is myne owne faythfulnes & allegeance towards your highnesse. So may I haue the fauour & mercie of God, at whose iudgment seate this mischaunce wil peraduenture set mee ere it bee long, as I haue euer borne a good hart to your maiesties person & crown. And yit I am not ignorant how oft maliciowse persones haue accuzed me too your highnesse, and charged mee as a trubbler of the state. But (as God would) the matter it selfe hath sufficiently shewed, thowgh

thowgh I my selfe should hold my peace, that the only cawse of all those greate slaunders is, that I haue withstoode those mennes ouerboldnes and owtrage, and defended the authoritie of your Edicts ageinst their trubblesum and violent attempts, and could not beare that they should breake the promis which you had made so often with othe vntoo your subiects. Of this my meening God is best witnesse, who will examin the cace betweene me and my backefreends, and decyde it accoording to his righteowsenesse. Agein, forasmuchas I haue bin aduaunced to so greate honour and authoritie in this Realme by your maiesties father and graundfather, and confirmed in the same by your bownteowseneesse: I cannot discharge my dewtie towards you, without making humble petition to you, too vowtsafe too remedie the greate number of hurlyburlyes that haue kept your Realme occupyed now a good whyle. Now come I too the *Flaunders* matter. Neuer any of your aunceters had so notable an occasion of welspeeding. Many Cities of nether *Dutcheland* do sew for your frendship, as you know, and are desirous to commit them selues to your protection. This occasion I see to bee openly scorned in your Court, and to bee taken from you throwgh ỹ fault of a feaw. Now alate, the army that Moūsyre Genlys led, was surpryzed of the Duke of *Alua* by a trayne, and for the most part discomfited and put too the swoord. You knowe what a sort of Catholikes were in that armie. Now what Religion suppoze you them too bee of, or what mynd thinke you that

they beare towards their owne countrymen and followers of the same religion, which make but a mock at so greate slawghter of them? A strawe can scarce be stirred in your secret counsell, nor any voyce bee vttered there, but it is byandby caryed too the Duke of *Alua*. I beseeche you, can wee hope for any thing, when they that are of the priuie counsell with your selfe or your brothers, do blowe abrode euen your secretest deuyces too straungers, yea and to your enemyes? Sir, I would verye fayne that you had a care of this thing, and I beseeche you so haue hereafter. The last, which I would wish you too haue no lesse care of, is the obseruing of your Edict of pacification. You knowe you haue oftentymes confirmed it by othe: and you knowe that not only forrein nacions, but also your neybowrprinces and freends are witnesses of the oft renewing of the same othe. O Sir, how vnseemely is it that this your othe should bee counted welneere but for a iest and mockage, as it is now comonly taken. Will forrein Princes and nacions make any account hereafter of you or of your promis? Within these seawe dayes past, as a Nurce was carrying home of a yong babe from baptim not farre from *Troys* in *Shampayne*, and was returning from a sermon that was made in a certeine village by you assigned for the same purpoze: certeine seditiowse persones which lay in wait by the way, killed both the Nurce and the chyld, and somme of the companie which had bin bidden to the Chrisstening.

Consider

Consider I beseeche you how horrible the owtrage of that murther was, and how well it may stand with your honour and dignitie, too suffer so greate owtrages vnreuenged and vnpunished in your kingdome. Too this his oration the king answered thus: that he neuer dowted of his faythfulnesse, but tooke him for a good subiect, a valeant man, and an excellent Captein, euen for such a one as none was comparable too him in all his Realme. And if I had had any other opinion of you (*quoth* he): I woold neuer haue doone as I did. It was marked aduysedly, that the King answered not one woord concerning the *Flaunders* affaires, and that he answered to the third poynt thus. That he ment nothing more than that his Edictes of pacification should bee kept faithfully and seuerely: and that for the same cawse he had sent commissioners intoo all partes of his Realme, for witnesse wherof he cyted foorthwith the Queene his moother, who turning too the Admirall, sayd, my Lord, there is nothing trewer: Commissioners are sent foorth intoo all partes. Yea (*quoth* the Admirall) of that sort of men which valewed my head at the pryce of fiftie thowsand Crownes. Then sayd the King, my Lord Admirall, it is too bee feared least this contention impaire your health, it is better for yow too take your rest, the hurt is yours, but the despyte is myne. But I sweare too you by the lyfe of God, that I will punish this fact so seuerely, as it shalbee remembered for euer. Wee haue a woman and a boy in prizon, which were taken in the

howse. Is it your desire too haue anie too sit vppon the examinacion and iudgment of them? As for that matter (*quoth* the Admirall) I referre it too your maiesties owne discretion and iustice. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as you requyre mine aduice, I wold wish that Mounsyre Cauanie, and Mounsyre Masparotte were called too the dooing of it. Also the Admirall named a third persone, but he that is the witnesse of this talke hath forgotten his name. The Admirall added, surely I think there needes no farre serche too bee made for the author of this deede. Uppon theis woords the king and the Queene Mother went neerer the Admirals pillow, and talked w̃ him softly. Of which communication he that stoode by ye beds side could heere nothing else, but that at the last the Queene sayd, Although I be but a woman, yit I am of opinion that it is to be loked too betimes. The king at his going away, connseled the Admirall too bee remoued into the palace: and so sayd the Countie Rets once or twice too the Admirals sonnylaw, & too the other that stoode at the beds side: adding further, that he feared that the men of *Paris* woold make such a stirre, as the king shuld not wel be able to appeaze. It was answered him that none of all the Surgions allowed that deuyce, but were all of opinion, that the peyne of his wounds being so greene, wold increace by the shaking of his bodie. And as for the *Parisians*, they were no more too bee feared than a sort of women, so long as the king continued his faithfull good will towardes the Admirall: For the name of King

was

was of such estimation euery where throwghout all *Fraunce*, and specially in *Paris*, that the very mention therof woold owt of hand appeaze the comon people, were they neuer so furiowse & out of their right wits. Then the king wold needes see the brazen pellet wherwith the Admirall was wounded, and asked of him whither he felt anie great peine when his finger was cut of, and his arme launced. And wheras he that shewed him the pellet, had the sleeue of hys cote alberayed with blud: the king demaũded of him, whither that were doone with the Admirals blud or no, and whither much blud had issewed from hys woundes or no. Too whom the other answered as he thowght good: Then, I am sure (*quoth* the king) that there is not a stowter nor a constanter man too bee found this day in the world: and therwithall he deliuered him the pellet agein. Which when his mother cõming after him had behild, I am glad (*quoth* she) that the pellet is owt of his flesh: for I remember, ẏ when the Duke of *Gwise* was slain in his camp, some surgiõs told me, ẏ although ther had bin some poison mixed w̃ it, yit there was no daũger when the pellet was once out. Then said another, Madame, we were not so contented, but we gaue the Admiral a drink, to help him betimes if any poyson had bin mixed w̃ it.

Anon after whẽ the king was gone out, the Lord Iohn Ferrers the Vidame of *Sharters* entering intoo the Admiralles chamber, and comforting hym with manie woordes, added at the last, that his enemyes had openly bewrayed their cowardlinesse, in that

they durſt not aſſaile him otherwiſe than at a Lattis-windowe: and that the Admiral was bliſſed and happie, in that he had hild owt in renowme of ſo greate prowesſe vntoo that age. Too whom the Admirall anſwered: Nay, I think my ſelf bleſſed in that God hath vowtſafed too powre owt his mercie vpon me. For they bee rightly happie, whoſe ſinnes and wickedneſſe God forgiueth. Not long after, by the aduice of the king of *Nauarre*, & of the Prince of *Condey*, the cheef Lords went toogither intoo a parlour vnderneathe the Admiralles chamber, too ſee what counſell might bee taken as the matter and tyme required. There the Lord Ferrers ſhewed wyth manie earneſt woords, that the beſt was too get them ſpedily owt of *Paris*, for it was not too bee dowted, but that this was as the firſt pageant of ſome tragedie, wherof the reſt ſhould followe ſoone after. Others reaſoned ageinſt it, ſaying it was ynowgh if they demaunded Juſtice at the kings hand, ſo as he ſhould commaund an inquirie too bee made of the fact, and iudgment too bee executed accordingly: in which opinion Mounſyre Telignie ſtoode very ſtifly, affirming that he knew the kings mind throwghly and aſſuredly, and therfore that they owght not too think amiſſe of his good will.

The next day, certeine of the Admirals freends hauing aduertizement that there was much huffling and ſhuffling in the Citie, and priuie conueying of armour & weapon togither in manie places: thought it very expedient too conſult of the matter betymes,

and

and that no good was too bee looked foꝛ of ſuch turmoyling and huddling toogither. Herbyppon charge was giuen to one of them that are witneſſes of theis things, too go too the king, and too certifie him of the ſtirring of the people and the clattering of armour, and therwithall too requeſt him too cõmaund ſomme competent nomber of his gard to kepe watch at the Admiralles gate, foꝛ his defence. As ſoone as the king herd that, byandby beeing ſoꝛe diſpleazed with it (as it ſeemed) and marueling at it, he began too inquire of him who had told it him, and whither it were repoꝛted ſo too the Admiral: and therwithall commaunded the Countie Rhetes to call the Quene his moother. The Queene was ſcarce come in, but the king being in a greate chafe (as it ſhould ſeeme) ſayd, what a miſcheef? What a doo is heere? This man telles mee that the people are in an bpꝛoꝛe, and redy too put on armour. They bee in no bpꝛoꝛe, ſayd ſhee, nother doo they arme themſelues: but you know you haue giuen commaundment, that euery man ſhould keepe himſelf within his owne warde till the bꝛeake of day, leaſt any tumult myght perchaunce inſew. That is trew (*quoth* the king) but yit I gaue charge that no man ſhould put on armour. Then the other man, too go thꝛowgh with the reſt of his errand, deſired the king too ſend ſum part of his gard too the Admirall. Too whom the Duke of *Angeow*, who was comme thither with his moother, ſayd: very well, take Mounſyꝛe Coſſins too yow with fiftie Hargabuttes. No (*quoth* the other) it is ynowgh

for vs if wee may haue but six of the kings gard with vs. For they shall beare as much sway with the people, as a greater number of armed men. Nay mary, (*quoth* the King) and so said the Duke of *Aniow* too, take Mounsyre Cossins too yow: yow cannot chooze a fitter man. At which woordes, uttered (as it should seeme) with stomack inough, ỹ messenger who knew Mounsyre Cossins to be ỹ Admirals deadly enemie, was notwithstanding stryken dumb. And ere he was gone farre from the chamber, he fownd Mounsyre Thorrey the Marshall Memorancies brother, who whispering in his eare, sayd: there could not a more hatefull keeper haue bin appoynted too yow. Too whom the other answered, yow see how skornfully the king commaunded it: wee haue committed our selues too his courtesie: but yit yow are witnesses of my former answer too the kings appoyntment.

Within a feaw howres after, Mounsyre Cossins came too the Admirals lodging, accompanied with 50. hargabutters: and chose twoo howses next it for himself to place his warders in. And anon after followed Rambulet the knyght Herbinger, who accoording too the Duke of *Angeowes* mynd, which he had giuen foorth in his former talk, commaunded all the noblemen and gentlemen that were Catholikes, too remoue owt of that streete, and too lodge sumwhere else, and distributed those lodgings too the Admirals freends & acquaintance. Than the which deuice none could be inuented either more suttle or fitter for performance of the things that came to passe afterward.

Towardes

Towardes the euening there happened a thing that gaue many men no small occasion of mistrust. A certein lad brought a cupple of borespeares to the Admirals lodging by the commaundmēt of Thelignie, whom Cossins bade backe, and woold not suffer the borespeares too bee caryed in. The matter was reported to the king of *Nauarre*, who was within with the Admirall. Wherupon he came downe and asked of Cossins how he durst be so bold as to do so. Mounsyre Cossins answered him flatly, that he did it by the kings commaundment & appoyntment. Neuertheless (*quoth* he) seing it is your pleasure, let them bee caryed in. The same day the king [of *Nauarre*] had sent secretly too his freends, and often warned them too repaire as manie as myght bee, neere vntoo the Admiralles lodging, & too fill all that warde. Within feawe howres after, there was a counsell called vnder the Admiralles chamber, Where Marline renewing the former opinion, was very earnest too haue the Admirall conueyed owt of *Paris*, and that his freendes and familiars should depart with him: for he sawe manie things euery howre, which did greatly increace his mistrust of bad meazure. Contrariwyse, all the residew for the moste part were of opinion that Justice was too bee demaunded at the Kings hande, and that request was too bee made, that all the *Gwisians* should departe owt of *Paris*, bycawse they bare too muche sway wyth the people of the Towne. Which opinion the king of *Nauarre*, and the Prince of *Condey*, and well neere all

the reſt allowed, and refuzed the other: ſo much the rather, bycawſe Mounſyze Telignie auowched that the king ſhould bee wzonged, if any man ſhould dout of his faithfulneſſe and vpzight dealing: wherfoze it ſhould ſuffyze too demaund Juſtice meeldly and quietly at his hand: foz the matter was yit greene, and if any ouergreat ſtoutneſſe ſhould bee vzed, it were too bee feared leaſt the king woold bee offended at it. In that Counſell was pzeſent one Bucauan a *Picard*: and it was marked that he ſpake not one woozd, but hild his peace & noted euery mannes opinion, which dealing did greatly increace the ſuſpicion that had bin conceyued of him nowe long ago. Foz manie thowght it ſtraunge, that he pzofeſſing the purer religion, ſhould notwithſtanding bee ſo hyghly in fauour with the Queene Moother, and reſozt ſo often too the Countie Rhetes, and others of the Queenes familiar freendes.

Abowt the third howze of the nyght, there roſe another occaſion of ſuſpicion thzowghe Mounſyze Coffins frowardneſſe: who eſpying the Cozſelets of Mounſyze Telignie, and Mounſyze Gvverchie too bee bzowght in, did put backe the bzinger. Vppon the knowledge wherof, Gvverchie being of warlike diſpoſition, and very feerce of nature, went owt too Coffins, and giuing him euill language, was like too haue made a fray with him. But Telignie appeazed the quarell with gentle ſpeeche: foz (as all men repozt) he was a yoongman of a meeld and meeke diſpozition, and ſuch a one as being deceiued wyth the

kings

Kings fayre words, was woont to aduance and commend his sinceritie without meazure or end. Therefore when as Gyverche and diuers others asked of him whither he thought it good for them to tarie and keepe watch all night in the Admiralls howse, he answered them all that it was labour more than needed, and gaue them thanks with very louing words. By meanes wherof it fel out, that none lodged in the Admirals house that night, but only Cornaton, Labon, Yolette the Mayster of the Admiralls horses, Merline the minister of Gods word, Ambrose the Kings Surgion, the Admiralls chamberseruants, and a fower or fyue other seruants at the most. For Teligny had gotten himself with his wife into his owne howse which ioyned wall to wall to the Admiralls lodging. Neuertheless there watched fyue Swissers of the King of *Nauarres* gard at the gate of the outter court, whom he had commaunded to tarie there all night for the Admiralles defence.

Sommewhat before daylyght, woorde was browght to Labon, that there was one at the gate sent by the King to the Admirall, who desired too bee let in. Labon taking the keyes ranne too the gate out of hand and opened it. Byandby Cossens cawght hold of him and killed him with his dagger: and being garded with his hargabuzers, he rushed foorthwith into the howse, & killed somme running away amazed and othersomme as they met him: and set all on a noize and vprore. Then brake he open the doore at the stayers foote, and although he slew one of the

Swissers with the shot of a hargabut: yit was he kept from comming vp the staires, by setting certeine chests in his way. The Admirall and they that were with him, being waked with the noyze of ẏ pistoleers and Curriers, & dowting not but that their enemyes were broken in vpon them, did forthwith fal flat vpõ the ground, & began to pray for peace at Gods hand, and too call vnto him for mercie. The Admirall himself being lifted out of his bed, and hauing put on his nightgowne, commaunded Merlyne too make prayers before him, and he calling vpon Christ our God with vehement sighing, fell too commending of his spirit intoo his hands, which he had receiued of God to inioy. When the witnesse of all theis things came into his chamber, being demaunded of Ambrose the Surgiõ what noyze that was: he turned himself to ẏ Admirall and sayd: Sir, it is God that calleth vs vntoo him. They haue broken intoo the howse, & there is no way too withstand them. As for mee (*quoth* the Admirall) I haue prepared myself vntoo death afore hand. Shift yow for yourselues if yow can possibly: for it wilbee in vaine for yow too go abowt too saue my life. I commend my sowle to Gods mercy. They that are the witnesses of theis things, noted that the Admirall did no more chaunge his countenance at theis dooings, than if no straunge thing at all had happened vntoo him. All the residew (sauing only Nicolas Muskie, a right trustie seruaunt of his, & his interpreter for the *Dutche* tong) getting themselues away intoo the garrettes of the howse, and finding a

windowe

windowe in the roofe, fell too shifting for their liues by flight, and diuers of them scaped by the benefite of the night.

By that time Cossins hauing remoued the chests, and the other stoppes that were cast in hys waye, browght in first certein of the *Swissers* apparelled in longcotes garded with blacke, white, and greene, wherby it was perceyued that they were of ẏ Duke of *Aniowes* gard. Theis beholding their fower countrymen vppon the stayers, did hurt none of them. But Cossins being armed with a Corslet & a sheeld, and brandishing his naked swoord in his hand, did by and by commaunde the hargabuzere that was next him too shoote at them, with which shot one of them was striken stark dead owt of hand. Assoone as they were broken intoo the Admirals chamber, one Beheme a *Germane*, borne in the Dukedome of *Wirtemberg*, (whose father (by report) was the maister of the ordinance,) being the first that stept intoo the chamber, and seeing the Admirall sitting there, said: Art not thou the Admirall? Yis I am he (*quoth* the Admirall:) and thou yoong man haue regard of my hore heade and old age. But Beheme without giuing him any mo woordes, strake him on the heade with his swoord, and was the first that imbrued himself with the Admiralles blud. After him followed Cossins, Attignie, and all the residew. As for the rest of the things that concerne the murthers & saccages ẏ were done in *Paris* those. 2. whole dayes togither, they be recorded alredy in the foresaid discourse of

the hellish manslawghter. The Admiralls bodie being throwne downe out of a windowe, was trampled vnder foote by the yong Duke of Gvvyse, and anon after tumbled into the myre in the open streete, and mangled and vsed with all the vilanie that might be, and a three dayes after caried out of the Citie by the furious multitude, and hanged vp by the feete vppon the gallowes of *Mountfalcon*. There it remayned certeine dayes as a banner of the people of *Parisis* victorie, and as a monument of their madnesse and crueltie, which they executed vppon him bothe quicke & deade: which deede will not only neuer be forgotten, but also bee the destruction of *Paris*, as a nomber of wise and discreete men foredeeme. But within a feaw dayes after, the Admiralls bodie was taken downe in the night by certeine horsmen, and buryed in a secret place.

Among diuers writings that were taken in the riffeling of his stuffe, was fownd his will, made a litle before the end of the last warres, which ỹ Queene moother commaunded too bee red before certeine of hir familiar freends. In the same there was one article, wherin the testator counselled the King, that he should not gine his brothers too greate richesse, and authoritie. At the heering wherof, the Queene turning too Frauncis Duke of *Alaunson* the Kings brother, said: Lo heere your odde frend the Admiral, whom you loued so deerely and set so much store by. To whom the Duke of *Alaunson* answered: I cannot tell how much he was my freend: but surely he hath

well

well shewed, euen by this counsel, how greatly he loued the king. Not vnlike too this was the Quene of Inglands Ambassadours answer. Who, when the Queene moother told him that the Admiral had cõsseled the king too bee alwayes gelows of the power of Ingland: answered, surely that mind of his was euill towardes Inglande, but singularly good towardes *Fraunce*.

When tidings of the slaughter at *Paris* was caried into *Ingland*, *Scotland*, and *Germanie*, too such as hild the same Religion of the Gospell which the Admirall had doone: it is incredible too tell how greate hatred it procured too the king and the Queene moteer, specially forasmuch as in those feawe dayes, almost ten thowsand Protestãts being striken in feare, and amazed with that storme, fled intoo those countries: who making report that the Admirall was a noble gentleman, a great and wise capteine, and the glorie of their countrie, blazed the authors of that wickednesse for ranke murtherers. Too the increace wherof made also the speeches and complaintes of diuers yoong Gentlemen of *Germanie*, who being sent into *Fraunce* too studie there, and being striken in feare with the sayd storme, returned home for the moste part spoyled and stripped owt of all that euer they had, and therfore cursed not only the owtrageous heinousnesse of the fact, but also ẏ whole realme of *Fraunce* among their parentes and kinsfolke. Otherssomme which had serued the Admiral in the former warres, commended his vertue euerywhere a-

mong the pꝛinces of *Germanie*. Foꝛ (which is thowght too bee the hardeſt thing in Martiall affayꝛes) he excelled not only in counſell, but alſo in pꝛoweſſe, wheras comonly wiſdome bꝛeedeth fearfulneſſe, and coꝛage bꝛeedeth raſhneſſe. Furthermoꝛe, not a fewe which were familiarly acquainted wyth the Admirals life and cõuerſation at home in hys owne houſe, going abꝛode among pꝛinces, commended him with ſingular pꝛaiſes foꝛ his innocẽcie, ſtayednеſſe, mildneſſe, and woonderfull zelowſeneſſe in following the religion: which thing might bee cheefly perceiued by the inward conuerſation of his life at home, wherof I wil adde ſumwhat heere, which I know foꝛ certeintie, partly by the recoꝛd of other men, and partly by mine owne ſight and beholding. At his firſt riſing in the moꝛnings, (which was meetly early adayes) he woold caſt his nightgowne abowt him, and kneeling downe vppon his knees, take vppon him too be as the mouth of his whole companie in pꝛaying and calling vppon God. And ſo the reſidew kneeled all downe after his example, and Pꝛayer was made in the ſame maner that is vſed comonly in the *Frenche* Churches. After the end of pꝛayer, looke what time was betweene that and the Sermon time, he beſtowed it euerywhit, either in hearing of the delegates of the Churches that were ſent vntoo him, oꝛ in the diſpatching of other publik affaires. Foꝛ afterward, eche other day there was a ſermon at warning giuẽ, and ſome certeine Pſalme of Dauid was ſung. Whẽ the Sermon was done, he returned too his buſineſſe,

vntill

vntill dinner time. Which being redie, all his houſe-hold, ſauing a feawe that were occupied abowt dreſſing of the meate, came togither into the hall where the table was couered, and there (if there had bin no ſermon,) a Pſalme of Dauids was ſung in his preſence ſtanding at the table, with his wife ſtanding by his ſide, and the Table was bleſſed with ordinarie grace. Which kind of order he was woont too keepe euery day without faile, not only at home & in time of peace, but alſo euen in the Camp. Wherof not only innumerable Frenchmen, but alſo a greate nomber of Almaine Knightes, Capteines, and officers, which were oftentimes bidden too his table, can bee witneſſes. As ſone as the table was taken away, byandby the Admiral roſe vp, and ſtanding on his feete with his wife likewiſe by him, and the reſt of the cõpanie that ſate with him at his table, did either himſelf pronounce the praier of thanksgiuing vnto God, or cawſe it too bee doone by the preacher. And at Supper times, not only the ſame thing was doone bothe in prayer & in ſinging of the Pſalmes: but alſo foraſmuch as he ſawe it woold be harder for him too get all his folk togither too nightprayer at bedtime, bicauſe that that time was vncerteine by reaſon of ſundrie buſineſſes which they had too doo: he commaunded them too be all with him immediatly after ſupper, and cauſed the nightprayers to bee ſayd aſ ſoone as the Pſalme was ended. Through the which example, it cannot bee ſayde howe manie of the *French* Nobilitie tooke vp the ſame order in theyr

howses: the rather for that the Admirall warned them, that if the maister of a howse intended to mainteine godlinesse aright, it was not ynowgh for him too frequent sermons, and too leade a godly and holie life to himself: vnlesse he did also bring his household and acquaintance too the same trade of life by his example. Certein it is that his godly and holye conuersation was had in so greate admiration euen among them that were of the Catholik side: that if it had not bin for feare of the horrible persecution & butcherie that followed afterward: the greatest part of *Fraunce* had turned too the same religion and reformation of manners. When the time of the Lords supper was at hand, he vsed too call his houshold seruauntes and reteiners abowt him, and too tell them that he was too yeeld account vntoo God, not only of his owne life, but also of their ordinarie dealings. If any iarre were falne among them, he appeazed it by setting them at one. If any man seemed not altoogether so forward in vnderstanding and reuerencing that greate misterie as he owght too bee: him did he cause to be instructed more diligently in religion. If any seemed ouer stubborne, he wold tell them openly that he had leuer to dwel at home alone, than to kepe a rowt of leud lozels. Agein, he thought the institution of schooles, and the well training vp of yong childzen, to be the singular benefite of God. This he termed the seedleape of the Churche, and the Nurcerie of godlinesse. Affirming that the want of learning had cast a mist, not only vppon the Common weale,

but

but also vppon Religion: and that the tyranny of the bishop of *Rome* had bin bred and borne in that dungeon, who had reigned ouer the blind and ignorant wretches, as father Dis is reported among the Poetes too haue reigned ouer night and darknesse. And therfore he founded a schoole in a pleasant & wholesome place hard by the Shatillion howse, and when he had finished the building of it, at his great cost he mainteined many children and yoongmen there, and manie lerned *Hebricians*, *Grecians*, and *Latinistes* too reade those languages too them. Moreouer, of his singular stayednesse this was one proof: that whereas he was indowed with greate offices of honour, and could haue sowght his owne commoditie, and gleaned riches too himself after the example of other Courtyers: yit did he not purchace one Acre of grownd, nor increace his fathers inheritance wyth one cotage. And although he played the good husband in vsing and spending of his owne goodes: yit notwithstanding when any Princes, noblemen, gentlemen, or men of any degree came vntoo him, (as they came vntoo him from all partes of *Fraunce* abowt the publik affaires of the Realme:) loke whatsoeuer monny he had gotten before by his sparing, he spent it liberally vppon them in hospitalitie. By meanes wherof it is certein, that he left his heires or successors charged with the dette, of not so little as fortie thowsand powndes, besides the yeerly loan of six thowsand powndes, which he payd too his creditors for interest. And I must not heere let passe in

ſilence, the incredible vnitie of minde, loue, and concord, that was betwene the three brethren Shattilions, which was ſo greate, that there ſeemed too bee but one mynd made of all the three.

The Admirall liued three and fiftie yeeres, ſix monethes, and eight dayes. He was of ſtature meetly tall, of colour ruddie, of all his members well proportioned and agreeable, of countenance ſtable and cheerfull, of voyce gentle and ſweete, howbeeit of ſpeeche ſommewhat ſlowe and ſoft: of helth meetly good, of geſture and gate comly, ſpecially when he was at home in his gowne, walking with his wife or his freendes: a ſmall drinker of wine euen by nature, meaſurable in meate and ſleepe, for comonly he reſted not aboue ſeuen howres. And ſince the tyme of the laſt pacification, he ſuffered no day to paſſe, wherin he entered not intoo his daybooke with his owne hand, before he laid him downe too ſleepe, the things that ſeemed woorth the noting in the former ciuill warres. Which being fownd after his death, and browght too the kings coũſell, purchaced him great commendacion for his quiet and vncombered mind, euen among ſuch as hated him moſte. Beſides this, when the warre was once ended, and he had withdrawen himſelf too *Rochell*, as is ſayd afore: he let no day paſſe without reading one of Caluins Sermons vppon the ſtorie of Job bothe morning and euening: which ſtorie he termed oftentimes the comfort of his ſowle, and his neceſſarie medicine at all aſſayes in all his aduerſities. By his firſt wife he had fiue chil-

dren,

dren, of whom he left aliue, his eldeſt daughter Loys maryed (as is ſayd heertoofore) vntoo Mounſyre Telignie, who was murthered in the ſame furiows ſlawghter, the ſelfſame night that his fatherinlawe was: and alſo Frauncis Odette and Charles, of whom the twoo eldeſt were conueyed ſpeedily from the butcherly ſlawghter, and the third which was but ſeuen yeere old and eyght moonethes, whom his father loued moſte intierly for his pleaſant conceytedneſſe, being takē by the aduerſaries, was tawght too beare Chriſtes croſſe euen from the pryme of his chyldhod. The Admirall left his later wife with childe of a dawghter, wherof ſhee was deliuered a fower moonethes after, and then returning homeintoo the borders of *Sauoy*, was committed too warde within feawe moonethes after, by the commaundment of Philibert the Prince of that Countrie.

FINIS.

Laus & Honor ſoli Deo, & filio eius Ieſu Chriſto.